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NUMBER 7 · APRIL 1935



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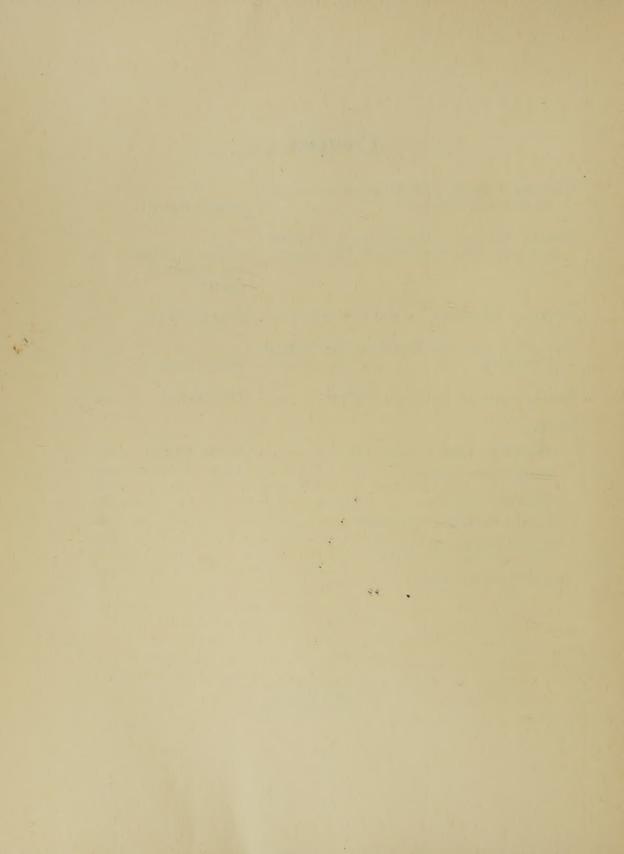
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California Books and Manuscripts in the Huntington Library

By JOHN C. PARISH

Introduction

THE present survey of books and manuscripts, relating to California, in the Huntington Library is not intended to serve as a bibliographical guide, but to make known the general resources of the Library for the benefit of scholars and others interested in the history of California. The geographical scope of the survey is somewhat larger than the present state. California, as we know it, took its name — and in large part its being — from the peninsula to the south, and the intimate relationship between Alta California and the older California makes it seem logical to include the study of materials bearing on the peninsula, at least down to the opening of the nineteenth century. The same logic requires that the present survey take cognizance of such of the material concerning Sonora and northern Mexico as relates closely to the advance into Alta California. It has been deemed necessary, however, to avoid the discussion of the region of New Mexico and Arizona, and of that of Oregon and Washington, although the materials in the Huntington Library are rich in both these fields and there is a close affiliation in the history of all these far-western states.

It will be noted that greater space and more detailed descriptions have been given to the manuscript materials than to printed works. This is due to the fact that by its very nature a manuscript is a unique document and requires individual description before it can mean anything to the reader of a survey. The printed book, on the other hand, usually exists in many copies, and the citation of titles and the statement of correlations between the resources in the Huntington Library and the listings in well-known bibliographies, will therefore convey definite knowledge to the reader. There must also be comment, however, on the fields of California history in which the Library is especially rich, and discussion of books which are particularly notable because they are rare or otherwise important. With both books and manuscripts it has been necessary to present typical material, rather than try unavailingly to emulate the bibliographer; and in both cases the endeavor has been made to relate the account of materials to the progressive development of California history.

The mechanical arrangement of the manuscript material should perhaps be made clear in order that future references may be understandable. The manuscripts of the Library are made up primarily of collections or groups of papers kept intact as acquired, except in rare instances, both because of the usual interrelation of items and because of the desirability of preserving the provenance of the group. Aside from the collections or groups, there is a large number of miscellaneous manuscripts. Each manuscript has a number and a prefix. In most cases the items in each group have their own collective prefix, while the miscellaneous manuscripts are given the prefix HM (Huntington Manuscripts). Thus, the Leidesdorff papers are numbered Le 1, Le 2, etc., and the Vallejo papers, Va 1, Va 2, etc. There may also be Leidesdorff letters or Vallejo letters acquired singly, but these are lettered HM. When a manuscript is not bound, the practice of the Library is to give it a labeled folder, the folders being arranged in chronological order and assembled, for protection, in cardboard slip boxes.

In the survey that follows, the resources of the Library are presented in three sections — the first devoted to printed works for the entire period of California history, the second and third dealing respectively with manuscripts of the Spanish and Mexican period to and

including 1845, and the American period after that date.

In conclusion, I wish to say that the assistance of the members of the staff of the Library in the departments of Americana, manuscripts, rare books, and reference, has been so generous and helpful that it has added more than I can say to my own pleasure and profit and to whatever of value the survey may possess. It has been so unanimous, however, that it has left me under the necessity of making acknowledgments to the group *en masse*, rather than expressing my appreciation to individuals.

Printed Works

The Huntington Library as a whole developed with a distinct specialization upon the field of English and American history and literature. By 1927, the time of Mr. Huntington's death, the collection consisted of about 175,000 printed volumes, and an extensive body of manuscripts whose number it would be difficult to appraise. In the eight years since that date, buying has proceeded, with a consistent trend in the direction of building up adequate reference material to support the treasures gathered in the lifetime of the Founder. The

total number of books at present approaches 225,000.

In the field of California history, materials of great value had been acquired, and the continuation of this development has been constantly paralleled by the acquisition of a fundamental supporting body of reference works. Cards relating to printed materials on California have been duplicated from the main catalogue to form a separate California catalogue, and these cards number something over 7,000. Naturally, this number would be materially increased if it were made to include the thousands of books dealing with the Far West in general and with the neighboring states whose history vitally affected that of California. The research student who comes to use the California books and manuscripts will find them rather solidly backed by western materials and general Americana.

By the very nature of its collections, the Huntington Library has found it necessary to accumulate an extensive bibliographical section. It has, of course, the larger general works in English, such as Sabin, Dictionary of Books Relating to America, including the modern con-

tinuation; Evans, American Bibliography; and the bibliographical aids published in various forms by the United States Government and by historical and learned societies. The background material for the Californias under Spain and Mexico is presented in a considerable list of bibliographies whose scope is typified by Medina, Biblioteca hispano-americana, and León, Bibliografía mexicana del siglo XVIII; earlier works such as Eguiara y Eguren, Bibliotheca mexicana, and Beristain y Souza, Biblioteca hispano americana septentrional; and the modern and very useful Spain and Spanish America in the University of California Libraries. These, together with the array of bibliographies of lesser scope, form a basis for the student who looks upon the history of California not as a local field but as a related part of a much larger development.

Printed guides indicating the location and character of archival and other manuscript materials in various repositories of the world are essential to the serious student of history. The Huntington Library has the entire list of guides published by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, including the one by Herbert E. Bolton, Guide to the Materials for the History of the United States in the Principal Archives of Mexico; also two other important guides of this nature, Charles E. Chapman, Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest (published by the University of California), and Owen C. Coy, Guide to the County Archives of California (published by the California Historical Survey Commission).

For California itself there is a wealth of bibliographical material, and it need only be stated that practically all of the items listed in Willard O. Waters, California Bibliographies,² are available for the use of students at the Huntington Library. Outstanding among these are the works of Mr. Robert Ernest Cowan and Mr. Henry Raup Wagner; and their publications will serve admirably as a medium by which to indicate the general extent and nature of the printed materials on

California in the Huntington Library.

² Cf. "American Imprints, 1648–1797, in the Huntington Library, Supplementing Evans' American Bibliography," compiled by Willard O. Waters, in The Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 3.

² This bibliography of bibliographies first appeared in the *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, II, 245-58.

For many years librarians have been using A Bibliography of the History of California and the Pacific West, 1510–1906, by Robert Ernest Cowan (1914), not only as a guide in the acquisition of books but also to a large degree as a measure of the adequacy of their libraries for the use of students of California history. The work is a selected list comprising about a thousand items. A new bibliography, by Robert Ernest Cowan and Robert Granniss Cowan, appeared in 1933. It contains nearly five thousand items and of course includes the more recent published works. The task of making an itemized comparison of the new edition with the books in the Huntington Library has not been attempted for the present survey. A check already made of basic material, as selected for the earlier Cowan bibliography, gives, however, an excellent indication of some of the resources of the Library.

This comparison shows that the Huntington Library has approximately 89 per cent of the identical items in the 1914 bibliography. If one includes, also, photostatic copies and editions other than the ones mentioned by Cowan, the Library has about 93 per cent. Since the present survey is for the benefit of research scholars rather than collectors, the figures used hereafter will be given on the basis of possession of the content of the volumes, even though the copy possessed may be a second edition instead of a first, or vice versa, or a reprint or photostatic reproduction instead of the original. Segregation of certain chronological groups of books reveals the following facts:

Of items published before 1800 (about sixty in number), the Library has 95 per cent, lacking only three items, as follows: José Gonzalez Cabrera Bueno, Navegacion especulativa y pratica... (1734); Johann Géorgius Gemeling, Disputatio geographica de vero Californiae situ et conditione (1739), apparently a university thesis; and Grasset de St.-Sauveur, Habitans de la Californie, an eight-page item appearing originally in a French encyclopedia in 1796. Of the sixteen Cowan items printed between 1800 and 1822, the Library has all.

For the period of Mexican control, 1823–45, the Library has approximately 92 per cent, lacking five out of sixty-three items. These are: Cyrille P. T. Laplace, Campagne de circumnavigation de la frégate L'Artémise . . . (1841–54); Carlos Antonio Carrillo, Exposicion dirigada a la camara de diputados . . . (1831); Francisco Garcia Diego, Carta pastoral . . . (1840); Reglamento para la compañía cosmopolitana

protectora de la industria en la Alta California (1834); and Reglamento provicional para el gobierno interior de la Ecma. diputacion territorial de la Alta California (Monterey, 1834). For the entire period to 1846, the Library possesses slightly over 94 per cent — all but eight items. Of works dealing with Pacific voyages prior to 1846 (about 75 in number), the Library has 96 per cent, lacking only three of the items — the publications by Cabrera Bueno, Gemeling, and Laplace mentioned above.

Cowan lists 486 items printed in the years 1846-69; and of these the Huntington Library has about 91 per cent. Of the 383 items for the years 1870 and after, it has over 94 per cent. It is apparent that the Library is richer in books printed in the Spanish period than in any other. It may be well to note that, in the list of books printed between 1846 and 1869, the items lacking do not deal primarily with the period before 1846, except in the case of three books concerning Russian relations. In no instance, in the list of books printed after 1869, does the Library not have an item that deals with the Spanish or Mexican period. In the entire Cowan list, only eleven items, of any date, concerned with the period before 1846, are lacking. And, although the percentage of books for the Spanish period is slightly higher than for later years, the distribution is such that in no period does the propor-

tion drop as low as 90 per cent.

In a long list of historical writings and bibliographies, by Henry R. Wagner, two volumes offer especial assistance to anyone seeking to appraise a collection of western material. The Spanish Southwest, 1542 to 1794, deals with the regions of the present United States which were at one time under the rule of Spain. It is not merely a bibliography, since the items listed are annotated so exhaustively that the work assumes unusual value as a guide to the quality of the books of the period and region. Many of the items are unique copies seen by Mr. Wagner in various parts of the world, or even books only known to have existed through citations or references in later publications. In spite of this emphasis on unique or exceptionally rare items, the Huntington Library has considerably more than half of the books listed in the bibliography. Mr. Wagner published, in 1921, The Plains and the Rockies. A Bibliography of Original Narratives of Travel and Adventure, 1800–1865. This covers, as no other book does, the American

overland approach to California and the Pacific Coast. It includes about 350 items, and of these the Huntington Library has approximately 89 per cent. Of the missing items all but twelve relate solely to regions outside of California, dealing with the Plains country, the Rockies, New Mexico, and Oregon; so that the proportion of strictly California items is considerably higher. As a matter of fact the Library is unusually rich in both books and manuscripts of overland travel.

It may be interesting to note that the Huntington Library acquired from Mr. Wagner a very large portion of the Californiana which formed the basis of his bibliographical work. There was also purchased in 1916, en bloc, the library of Mr. Augustin S. McDonald, of Oakland. Hence the 77-page book printed by Mr. McDonald in 1903 (A List of Books. California and the Pacific in the Library of Augustin S. McDonald) becomes automatically a catalogue of perhaps

1,500 books in the Huntington Library.

In 1933 there was placed on public exhibition at the Library a selection, from its California books and manuscripts, numbering sixty-five items, seventy per cent of which were printed works. A hand list, California from Legendary Island to Statehood, describing each item, was prepared by the staff. The materials were chosen partly on the basis of rarity or of particular interest, but also with the idea of illustrating a variety of phases of the development of California. The hand list serves the purpose of supplying a fuller description of certain individual items than can be given in the present survey, and also will indicate some of the types of historical sources in the wide range of Californiana at the Library.

So far, comparison and reference have been to bibliographies and lists which include the very rare items of California historical literature. A different kind of estimate may be made by examining the best modern survey of California history, the two-volume History of California of which Charles E. Chapman contributed the book on the Spanish period and Robert G. Cleland the one on the American period. Every book listed by title in the bibliographical section of the former or in the references and citations in the latter is available at the Huntington Library. This fact is worthy of note, particularly in the case of the volume by Chapman, since his bibliographical appendix is per-

haps, for the general student, the most useful discussion in print of the

materials on Spanish California.

If by the above token the scholar is assured that he can find at the Huntington Library the ordinary equipment of general histories, such as the works of Bancroft, Hittell, Eldredge, Richman, and Royce; special works such as those of Father Engelhardt on the missions; and the best-known sources penned by contemporaries or edited by modern scholars, it yet remains advisable to indicate the various phases of California history for which the Library affords particularly adequate materials, and to pass brief comment on some of the rare or unique items which may be of especial value to the research student.

Interest naturally attaches to the origin of the name "California." The general opinion of students of the question is that it was derived from the Spanish romance Las Sergas de Esplandián, written near the beginning of the sixteenth century by Montalvo, who describes the "island called California" at the "right hand of the Indies," where the amazon queen Calafía reigned. Spanish, French, and English editions

of the Sergas are available at the Huntington Library.

The California peninsula was discovered by men sent out by Cortez in 1533, and Cortez himself tried in vain to follow up the discovery with settlement. One hundred and fifty years later Atondo y Antillón, accompanied by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino and others, made an attempt at colonization and evangelization, which failed after two years. Aside from these episodes and the beginnings of permanent occupation in 1697 under Father Salvatierra, the history of the Californias in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is practically limited to a succession of Pacific voyages. Here, however, is an activity of great interest and importance; and the Huntington Library is exceptionally well supplied with materials relating to the sea rovers.

The experiences and travels of such men as Cortez and Jiménez, of Francisco de Ulloa who explored the Gulf of California in 1539, of Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo who visited the shores of the present California in 1542, of Francis Drake who landed in California in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, and of Vizcaíno who followed him in the first few years of the seventeenth, have been recorded in two forms of old books. One is the general history, descriptive in large part, though often containing extracts of the original accounts. Examples

are: Lopez de Gomara, Historia general de las Indias (1553); Juan de Torquemada, Monarchia indiana (1723); and Antonio de Herrera, Historia general de los hechos castellanos en las islas i tierra firme del mar oceano (1730). The dates given are for the copies in the Huntington Library. The other type of early record is that found in the documents themselves, either in the form of a single narrative or in the larger collections of narratives, such as Ramusio, Navigationi y viaggi; Hakluyt, Principall Navigations; Purchas, Pilgrimes; and the various Spanish collections of Documentos inéditos. The Library is well equipped with this class of historical sources. Examples of single documents available on these early voyagers are two Drake items: the six folio leaves on "The Famous voyage of Sir Francis Drake... begun in the yeere... 1577," inserted in the 1589 edition of Hakluyt, and

The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake (1635).

Materials on the voyages of Cabrillo, Drake, and Vizcaíno are not only found in the historical accounts and the reproductions of narratives by early writers, but are discussed in the work of many later scholars. The voyages of Cabrillo and Ferrelo have been treated by Alexander S. Taylor in his Discovery of California and Northwest America (1853). The bibliography of later works on Drake has been enriched by many writers, but in particular by Henry R. Wagner, whose own book, Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World: Its Aims and Achievements, will probably be generally accepted as the definitive treatment of the subject. His additions to the literature of the Vizcaíno expedition are likewise notable. In fact, the articles, books, and edited works of Mr. Wagner have illuminated the whole subject of Pacific Coast voyages in such a way as to make scholars heavily indebted to him. The Huntington Library possesses three items of great rarity in the memorials reciting the services of Admiral Pedro de Porter y Casanate, governor of Sinaloa. These documents are dated in the 1640's and 1650's, when the admiral was active in maritime enterprises in the Gulf of California and elsewhere and was energetic in his efforts to colonize the Californias.

One can mention only a few of the more notable accounts available for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. For English voyages, there are the volumes dealing with William Dampier, Woodes Rogers, George Shelvocke, William Betagh, George Anson, James Cook, George Dixon, N. Portlock, John Meares, James Colnett, and George Vancouver. Among the French narratives are those of Jean Chappe D'Auteroche and the Comte de La Pérouse; while for the Russian activities which gave alarm to the Spaniards one may consult the very rare volume by Francisco José Torrubia, I Muscoviti nella California o sia dimonstrazione della verita' del passo all' America settentrionale nuovamente scoperto dai Russi (an account of the Russians, published in 1759 in the Italian language by a Spaniard); or the later work of William Coxe, Account of Russian Discoveries between Asia and America (1780).

Settlement followed far in the wake of the early voyages. The Huntington Library has a copy of Verbiest, Voyages de l'empereur de la Chine dans la Tartarie (1685), and in it is a section, "Nouvelle descente des Espagnols dans l'isle de Californie," which describes the enterprise of Atondo y Antillón on the Gulf coast of the peninsula in 1683-85. This short-lived colonial venture is an early chapter in the story of the occupation of California. In the historical literature relating to the peninsula, the Noticia de la California (1757), formerly ascribed to Miguel Venegas but now known to be the work of Andrés Marco Burriel, is outstanding. The Huntington Library has editions in Spanish, French, English, German, and Dutch, and in the Department of Manuscripts is considerable material embodying much of Burriel's correspondence and copies of his source material."

Among the many other eighteenth-century writings available for the study of this region, are Francisco María Picolo, Informe del estado de la nueva Christiandad de California (1701); Jakob Baegert, Nachrichten von der amerikanischen halbinsel californien (1772); Miguel Venegas, El apostol Mariano (1754), dealing with the life of Father Salvatierra, under whose supervision permanent settlement was made in 1697; José de Gálvez, Informe general, written in December, 1771, by the visitor-general but not published until 1867; Luis Sales, Noticias de la provincia de Californias (1794); and Francisco Javier Clavigero's work, Storia della California (1789). The narrative, by Father Sigismundo Taraval, of the Indian uprising in 1734 to 1737 in which Father Carranco and Father Tamaral were murdered, was apparently used in

¹ See post, pp. 21-22, 23-25.

manuscript form by Venegas and by Clavigero but was not printed until 1931, when it was translated, with an introduction and notes by Mrs. Marguerite E. Wilbur, and issued as the second volume of the

Quivira Society Publications.

There is much information on Sonora and the missions of the north-west frontier in José Ortega, Apostolicos Afanes, and Francisco Javier Alegre, Historia de la Compañia de Jesus en Nueva España, but most valuable of all for this region is the work left by Father Kino himself in the Favores celestiales, translated and published by Herbert E. Bolton in 1917 under the title Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería

Alta, 1683-1711.

In 1769 the colonization of Alta California started, and there is an abundance of material at the Huntington Library for the beginnings of missions, presidios, and pueblos. Among the items not often found are three by the engineer Miguel Costansó, who came to San Diego in 1769 on the "San Carlos" and went north with the Monterey expedition. In addition to his Diario historico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California (1770), there is his Extracto de noticias del puerto de Monterey (1770), and An Historical Journal of the Expeditions, by Sea and Land, to the North of California; in 1768, 1769, and 1770: . . . From a Spanish MS. Translated by William Reveley (1790). Palou, Relacion historica de la vida . . . del venerable padre Fray Junipero Serra, is to be had in the 1787 edition. His Noticias de la nueva California is available in the 1874 edition. Related to civil affairs is the very rare Reglamento para el gobierno de la provincia de California, issued by Governor Felipe de Neve in 1784.

Modern scholars, and particularly the group at the University of California, have been greatly interested in the history of the occupation of Alta California. Herbert Ingram Priestley, José de Gálvez, Visitor-General of New Spain (1765-1771), and Charles E. Chapman, The Founding of Spanish California, 1687-1783 (both published in 1916), give excellent accounts of the background of the advance into Alta California. Diaries of Portolá, Costansó, Vila, Fages, and Font, of the expeditions of 1769 and of later expeditions, have been edited by Frederick J. Teggart, and others, in the Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History. Most useful of all have been the volumes edited by Herbert E. Bolton, presenting the writings of Palou, Crespi,

Anza, Garcés, Font, and others. Thus, for the pioneer period in Alta California, the scholar has, in usable form, material otherwise available only in rare volumes or in manuscript repositories. The Huntington Library has not only the modern editions but also many of the rare early volumes, and in some instances manuscripts or contemporary

copies of material later incorporated in published works.

A few examples may be cited as indicative of the resources of the Library for the study of the Spanish Californians and their foreign visitors, during the period from 1800 to 1846. The American Register in 1808 published an account by a New Englander, William Shaler, describing California as he saw it on a visit in the ship "Lelia Byrd" in 1804. Rezanov came down from Sitka to San Francisco in 1806, and translations of his report and the narrative of Langsdorff (who was with him) were published by Thomas C. Russell in two books, in 1926 and 1927. Frederick W. Beechey, Narrative of a Voyage to the Pacific and Beering's Strait (1831), and Auguste Bernard du Hautcilly, Voyage autour du monde, principalement à la Californie et aux Iles Sandwich (1834–35), tell of the impressions of an Englishman and a Frenchman who had visited the California coast in the late twenties.

Alfred Robinson migrated to California in 1829, became a resident, and married into the California family of De la Guerra y Noriega. Years later, in 1846, he wrote his Life in California, with which he incorporated Father Boscana's "Chinigchinich," an account of the Indians near San Juan Capistrano. The missionary fathers were meeting discouragements, and the secularization of the missions finds representation in a broadside, issued in Mexico in 1833, to the effect that "... El gobierno procederá a secularizar las missiones de la Alta y Baja California." James O. Pattie in 1831, and Zenas Leonard in 1839, described their journeyings to the Pacific. Jedediah Smith had reached California overland before either of them, but his story was not told adequately until the publication of Harrison C. Dale, The Ashley-Smith Explorations (1918), and Maurice S. Sullivan, The Travels of Jedediah Smith. A Documentary Outline Including the Journal of the Great American Pathfinder (1934). Alexander Forbes in 1839 wrote his History of Upper and Lower California, and Richard H. Dana in 1840 published his Two Years before the Mast. In the early forties the Frenchman, Eugene Duflot de Mofras, was making the

journeys recorded in his Exploration du territoire de l'Oregon, des Califonies et de la Mer Vermeille (1844), and Lieutenant Charles Wilkes, of the United States Navy, was experiencing the events he described in his Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition (1845).

About this time people in the eastern states were becoming interested in the West, and the overland travel assumed considerable proportions. John Bidwell, *Echoes of the Past*, tells the experiences of the first emigrant train to California in 1841; Robert Greenhow, *The History of Oregon and California*...(1844), was partly a result of the awakened interest, and Lansford W. Hastings, *The Emigrants Guide to Oregon and California* (1845), played an important rôle in the early emigration. In the last few years of the period of the Californians, printing presses were operating in Alta California — most notably the press of A. Zamorano. The Huntington Library has about twelve of the items published by these presses under the Mexican regime.

With the assumption of control by the Americans, there came also an increase of printing in California, and, in the East, a vast output of literature about California. For the period after 1846 it is increasingly difficult to choose for mention single items of interest in the Huntington Library, and more and more necessary to speak of groups. The gold rush produced a multitude of books describing the mines and the way to reach them, and the Library has a large collection of such items. Their wide appeal is shown by the fact that the Library has copies of publications of this sort printed in English, Spanish, French,

German, Dutch, Russian, and Polish.

Naturally, guides were soon published describing the route to California and giving advice as to equipment and conduct. Joseph E. Ware wrote his *Emigrants' Guide to California* in 1849. It was much used but today is an exceedingly scarce item. The guides issued by Hosea B. Horn and Andrew Child in 1852, and John Steele's *The Traveler's Companion* (1854), are representative of these small but helpful books.

Another type of book is the personal diary of the man who actually followed the road to the West. However, journals of gold seekers often did not appear in print until many years later. John Steele's Across the Plains in 1850 is a case in point, having been published in 1930. The quality of the diaries and narratives varies greatly, but the Li-

brary possesses so many of these documents of migration that the student has ample opportunity for comparison. Frequently, when men did not actually publish their diaries they drew from them information for books about their travels and particularly about their lives in the mining regions. Here, again, there are so many available volumes that only typical items can be named. Perhaps, for descriptive matter, Edwin Bryant's What I Saw in California (1848) is an appropriate example. A classical account of troubles en route, written many years later, is William L. Manly, Death Valley in '49 (1894).

Since ancient times, men have loved to become reminiscent. Although there are few forty-niners left to write their tales, men have been going through adventures and growing old ever since the days of '49; and on the shelves of the Library are hundreds of volumes which record vividly the experiences of Californians in the Civil War period,

and in the years that run down to the present.

Civil government in the early American days is reflected in some important and rare documents. The copy of Laws for the Better Government of California during the Military Occupation of the Country by the Forces of the United States (1848) is probably unique, since the code was apparently never distributed. Other items of interest are the Translation and Digest of Such Portions of the Mexican Laws of March 20 and May 23, 1837, as Are Supposed to Be Still in Force and Adapted to the Present Conditions of California (1849), and J. Ross Browne, Report of the Debates in the Convention of California on the Formation of a State Constitution in September and October, 1849 (1850). The latter is available in both English and Spanish. State documents for the more recent period are numerous but the files are not complete, and, as to United States Government documents, the items relating to California have been largely secured.

Local history is the basis of the history of all larger units, although it does not so often find a place of prestige in bibliographical lists. Of the fifty-eight counties in California, there is printed material in the Library on fifty-five, and without doubt the remaining three — Siskiyou, Modoc, and Alpine — have their annals touched upon in ways that have escaped the cataloguer. Twenty-nine of the counties are represented on the shelves of the Library by more or less formal histories, and fourteen others have their stories told in joint histories cov-

ering anywhere from two to four counties. The counties for which the Library has neither a single nor a joint history are: Alpine, Del Norte, King, Madera, Modoc, Mono, Monterey, Riverside, San Benito, Shasta, Siskiyou, Sutter, Tehama, Trinity, and Yuba. It is more difficult to list the town histories that are available, or the histories of valleys or other nonpolitical regions, though the number is extensive. Also there are many accounts of particular phases of local history.

One very important form in which local history is recorded is the newspaper. The Huntington Library has not attempted to build up a large collection of recent and current newspapers. There are many files available for the later period, but of much greater value are those of the early American press. The files for the late forties and early fifties in Monterey, San Francisco, and other northern towns, are particularly important. An interesting Los Angeles item is a reproduction of the first issue (May 17, 1851) of the first Los Angeles newspaper the Star. The reproduction was made for Mr. Henry R. Wagner from an issue located in the New York Historical Society. Another rare item is a practically complete file of The Southern Vineyard, published in Los Angeles in 1858-59 by J. J. Warner. No other file is known which approaches completeness.

The list that follows is presented largely to give an idea of the range of newspaper materials in the early period. Newspapers are included for the years from 1846 to 1870 — in other words, for the first quarter century of American occupation. No attempt has been made to give details as to the completeness of the files. The dates which follow the names indicate the earliest issue in the possession of the Library. In some of the items a paper is represented by a single issue — perhaps an acquisition in connection with other materials, perhaps a rare or unique item. In other instances, the item listed represents a run of

many years.

Auburn: The Placer Herald, 1870; Placer Press, 1856.

Benicia: California Gazette, 1851.

Columbia: Advertiser, 1856; Columbia Gazette and the Southern Mines,

Downieville: The Mountain Echo, 1852.

Grass Valley: Grass Valley Telegraph Extra, 1852.

Jackson: Amador Weekly Ledger, 1863.

Los Angeles: El Clamor Publico, 1855; News, 1869; Republican, 1869; Star, 1851; Southern Californian, 1855; Southern Vineyard, 1858.

Mare Island: Advertiser, 1859.

Marysville: Democrat, 1852; Herald, 1851; News, 1858.

Monitor: The Alpine Miner, 1866. Monterey: Californian, 1846.

Napa City: The Napa County Reporter, 1857.

Nevada: National Gazette, 1870.

Oakland: Alameda County Herald, 1860.

Placerville: News, 1864.

Quincy (Amador County): The Prospector, 1855. Quincy (Plumas County): Plumas National, 1868.

Sacramento: Democratic State Journal, 1852; Index, 1850; Phoenix, 1857; Placer Times, 1850; The Spirit of the Age, 1856; Times, 1855; Transcript, 1850.

San Diego: Bulletin, 1869; Union, 1869.

San Francisco: Alta California, 1849; Balance, 1850; Bulletin, 1856; California Home Journal, 1859; California Police Gazette, 1859; California Spirit of the Times and Fireman's Journal, 1859; California Staats-Zeitung, 1853; California Youth's Companion, 1864; Californian, 1848; Call, 1856; Chronicle, 1853; Commercial Advertiser, 1853; Courier, 1850; La Cronica, 1854; L'Echo du Pacifique, 1852; El Eco del Pacifico, 1857; The Golden Era, 1852; Herald, 1850; Journal, 1852; Journal of Commerce, 1850; Mechanics Fair Press, 1864; Mercantile Gazette and Prices Current, 1861; Mercantile Gazette and Shipping Register, 1856; Mirror, 1861; National, 1859; News, 1854; El Nuevo Mundo, 1865; Occident, 1868; The Pacific, 1851; The Pacific News, 1849; The Pacific Star, 1851; Picayune, 1851; Placer Times and Transcript, 1850; Post, 1851; Prices Current and Shipping List, 1852; Star, 1847; Sun, 1854; Telegram, 1858; Times, 1852; Town Talk, 1856; True California, 1856; True Standard, 1851; La Voz de Méjico, 1862; Western American, 1852; The Wide West, 1854; Whig and Commercial Advertiser, 1853.

San José: Argus, 1851; California State Journal, 1851.

Silver Mountain: The Silver Miner, 1868.

Sonora: The Democratic Age, 1860; Sonora Herald, 1850.

Stockton: Stockton Times and Tualumne City Intelligencer, 1850.

Union: The Northern Californian, 1858. Weaverville: The Trinity Journal, 1856. Periodical literature is of the utmost importance to the historical student. Of most direct service are the publications of historical societies. The Huntington Library has complete files of the Publications of the Academy of Pacific Coast History, the Annual Publications of the Historical Society of Southern California, the earlier Papers of the California Historical Society, and its present series, the Quarterly of the California Historical Society. There are also complete files of the Washington Historical Quarterly, the Oregon Historical Quarterly, the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, and the Pacific Historical Review, all of which have many articles and documents pertaining to California.

The more general magazines cannot be neglected, for they often present material of the greatest value. A bibliographical paper in typewritten form, at the Huntington Library, is of use in evaluating such contributions. It is a copy of a master's-degree thesis presented by Doris West Bepler at the University of California, and is entitled "Descriptive Catalogue of Materials for Western History in California Magazines, 1854–1890: With an Introduction on the History and the Character of the Magazines." The author discusses seven magazines, as follows: The Pioneer or California Monthly Magazine, Hutchings California Magazine, The Hesperian (later the Pacific Monthly), The Overland Monthly (first series), The Californian, The Overland Monthly (second series), and The Golden Era. Of these seven magazines, the Huntington Library has a considerable but incomplete file of The Hesperian and The Golden Era, and complete files of the other five.

In the period since 1890 the Land of Sunshine, which began publication in 1894 and changed its name to Out West in 1902, was, under the editorship of Charles Fletcher Lummis, the repository of much historical material referring to California. An example is the publication, in volume sixteen, of the diary of Father Junipero Serra on his journey with Portolá from Baja California to San Diego. The Library has a complete file of the magazine down to the beginning of the new series in 1910. The Grizzly Bear, the organ of the Native Sons and Native Daughters of the Golden West, and Westways (formerly Touring Topics), issued by the Southern California Automobile Club, are primarily magazines of a special and popular nature, but in each of them has appeared a long list of excellent historical articles.

High levels of printing have been established in California in the last generation, and one of the most important fields in which this art has developed is California history. The University of California Press; the Stanford University Press; John Howell, John Nash, and the Grabhorn Press, in San Francisco; the Primavera Press, in Los Angeles; the Fine Arts Press, at Santa Ana; and Arthur H. Clark, at Glendale — constitute only a partial list of publishers whose contributions to Californiana have been noteworthy and whose books are available at the Huntington Library.

The collection of cartographical material in the Huntington Library is extensive and valuable. Literally thousands of maps are available showing the whole or a part of California. An attempt will be made here simply to point out bibliographical approaches, and to indicate

the general forms in which maps appear.

The best starting point for cartographical study is the bibliographies of maps and atlases, compiled under Philip Lee Phillips, former Chief of the Division of Maps of the Library of Congress, and showing the map resources of that institution. Besides these, the Huntington Library has a photostatic reproduction of a typewritten "Descriptive List of Maps of California and of San Francisco, to 1865 Inclusive, Found in the Library of Congress." This extensive manuscript (xvi + 72 pp.) was prepared by Mr. Phillips but never printed. The State Library of California and various local institutions have published lists of maps in their possession. Several of the works of Henry R. Wagner consist almost entirely of descriptive accounts and discussions of maps, accompanied by reproductions; ¹ and throughout all his publications there is a wealth of comment on cartographical matters relative to California.

Numerous and valuable atlases, both old and modern, are available at the Huntington Library. In the atlases published after the discovery of America, California emerged fairly, soon, because of the desire of map makers to depict the Pacific Coast. Sometimes the atlas included but one map showing California — namely, the map of the world. But more often California appeared twice, since the atlases usually contained a separate map of America. Gradually there were

¹ See, for example, Some Imaginary California Geography, reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, Apr., 1926.

introduced maps of the Pacific Ocean, or of New Spain, or of the Californias themselves. These early maps give information as to current ideas of the trend and contour of the coast line, the form of the land (whether insular or peninsular), and the location of place names. In a Hondius-Mercator atlas of 1630, California on the world map is indicated as an island, while on the map of America it is shown as a peninsula.

Some of the noteworthy atlases available for the early period are those of Ortelius (*Theatrum orbis terrarum*) in several sixteenth-century editions, atlases by Battista Agnese, a number of Mercator atlases, the very useful atlas of Nicolas de Fer (*L'Atlas curieux*, 1705), and the *Atlas para el viage de los galetos Sutil y Mexicana* (1802), in which Navarette published his map of the Vizcaíno expedition from

plans of the discoverer in 1602.

Many atlases of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries contain maps of California as it was known by cartographers of the time. There are also modern atlases such as those of Kretschmer and Nordenskiöld, Fite and Freeman, and Paullin. The Library has, moreover, several globes whose geographical contributions are worthy of study. A large one—sixty-nine centimeters in diameter—is the work of Blaeu in 1617 and probably the only example in existence. A smaller one, by Hondius, is dated 1600; while a third, by Greuter, was

made in 1732. All of these show California as a peninsula.

Another class of cartographical material consists of maps, usually somewhat specialized, scattered through various published works. There are: the Kino map of 1705, in Lettres edifiantes et curieuses (1724); the map of Henry Briggs showing California as an island, in Purchas, Pilgrimes (1625); the many maps in Burriel, Noticia de la California; and those in other historical treatises and narratives of the early Spanish regime. In the later American period, travelers and government officials usually accompanied their narratives or reports with maps, and naturally the authors of regional descriptions and guides found maps essential. Thus, there is at the Library an extraordinary variety of maps of the gold regions and of the routes that converged there.

A word should be added here as to manuscript maps. One of the finest and earliest maps of the California coast is a beautifully illumi-

nated manuscript portolano, of about 1580, by the Portuguese cartographer Fernão Vaz Dourado. It outlines the coast from San Blas to Cape Mendocino and appears in a bound atlas of vellum maps depicting various parts of the world. The Huntington Library is one of six libraries in the country which acquired a complete collection of the photographs of historical manuscript maps, relating to the United States, in the archives and libraries of France, Spain, and Portugal, assembled by Louis Karpinski. There are over a thousand of these maps, and a large number naturally include California. Scattered throughout the collections and miscellaneous documents of the Department of Manuscripts are many maps, a few of them printed but most of them in manuscript form. Some of these will be mentioned in the sections which follow.

Manuscripts

SPANISH AND MEXICAN PERIOD

The earliest group of manuscripts in the Huntington Library dealing with the Spanish occupation of the Californias, dates back to the period of the 1680's and centers about the unsuccessful attempt at colonization by Atondo y Antillón, and more particularly the experiences of the missionary leader of the expedition, Father Eusebio Kino, whose work is of great importance in the history of Baja California and of the land approaches to Alta California. The Kino papers consist of 33 letters and reports which give details of the early activities of this remarkable priest. The manuscripts are concentrated in point of time, ranging from 1680 to 1687. Twenty-seven of them are written by Kino himself. Thirteen of these are dated at Cadiz, Spain, at sea, or at various points in Mexico before the Atondo expedition to the Californias. The earliest of these show Kino's strong desire to be sent to Australia or the Marianas for missionary work. Nine-letters are from the Californias during the years 1683 to 1685 and tell, often in diary form, of his mission enterprises, his travels, and the progress of events in the colony on the peninsula. The colony was withdrawn after two years and the remaining five letters bear dates of 1686 and 1687. These were written from Mexico and from Kino's new missionary field in Pimería Alta.

The recipient of twenty of the letters of Kino was the Duchess de Aveiro y Arcos, a patroness of missions in the New World, to whom he wrote sometimes in Spanish, sometimes in Latin, and once in Italian. Among his other correspondents were Father Luis de Espinosa, Father Julio Martínez, Father Francisco Ximénez, and Father Balthasar de Mansilla. In addition to the letters of Kino himself are letters of Fathers Mansilla and Ximénez and other priests, written from the city of Mexico and addressed with a single exception to the Duchess de Aveiro y Arcos; one is a draft of a letter from Madrid, probably from the Duchess herself, speaking of the failure of the Atondo colonizing venture in California, and urging that the enterprise could well be continued by the use of a few priests.

Aside from groups like the Kino papers are many separate items relating to the early history of the Californias. Of the seventeenth-century letters, three are addressed to the Duchess de Aveiro y Arcos and have to do in part with the attempt to form a settlement and mission in Baja California in 1683. One of these, written by Joseph Gregorio from Mexico on October 9, 1681, discusses Kino's fitness for the California mission project, and mentions his impending departure (from the city of Mexico) "this week or the next at the latest" (HM 22488). Two others are from Father Balthasar de Mansilla and refer incidentally to letters and information from Kino in regard to Cali-

fornia (HM 22489, 22490).

Turning to the eighteenth century one finds rich material in bound volumes of manuscripts relative to the Jesuits in California and the northern frontier. Among the letters of early date is a cedula of the Queen of Spain dated December 11, 1702, commending the missionaries of the Californias and confirming grants made to them. This document, signed by the Queen "Yo la Reyna," is addressed to the Duke of Alburquerque, who had recently arrived as viceroy of New Spain. Eighteen years later, April 8, 1720, Father Alexandro Romero and Father Jayme Bravo signed their names to a nine-page informe describing the ecclesiastical conquest of the Californias and telling of the situation at that date in the peninsula (HM 1288).

A manuscript volume labeled "Pièces diverses sur l'antique Californie à la Nouvelle Espagne" is mostly concerned with the Jesuits in

The document is given in printed form in Burriel, Noticia de la California, II, 64-66.

the first quarter of the eighteenth century. It contains copies of eleven letters and documents. According to the descriptive notes in French which accompany them, these are drawn mostly from originals or contemporaneous copies in the Real Academia de Historia in Madrid. Eight of these manuscripts belong to the years 1701 to 1719 and are written by the four most prominent Jesuits connected with California in that period. One is a letter from Father Kino in 1704 to the procurador general, Alonso Guiros (HM 4095), two are from Salvatierra in 1701 and 1706 (HM 4092, 4096), four with dates of 1702, 1709, and 1716 are from Francisco María Picolo, padre and historian of the early missions (HM 4093, 4094, 4097, and 4098), and one is from Juan de Ugarte, Salvatierra's successor, to Picolo in 1719 (HM 4099). The other three items in this volume are more general manuscripts. One is a 40-page informe describing the mission of Loreto in Baja California up to the year 1722 (HM 4100). Another, covering 51 pages, is an extract from a historical account of the missions of the bishopric of Durango, including Sinaloa and Sonora (HM 4102). The third, without signature or place, is a 42-page narrative of the eviction of the Jesuits from the Philippines in 1769 and 1770 (HM 4101).

Among the unbound manuscripts is a letter, September 26, 1731, from the Marqués de Villapuente, wealthy patron of missionary enterprises, to the viceroy, the Marqués de Casafuerte, telling of the needs of the missions in the peninsula and urging the sending of additional soldiers for the protection of the missionaries (HM 628). These needs were soon demonstrated. Only three years later, on October 1 and 3, 1734, occurred the murders by the Indians of Father Carranco at Santiago and Father Tamaral at San José. In a letter of October 18, Father Sigismundo Taraval wrote to Joseph Barba of the death of his two colleagues (HM 22233), and Barba in April, 1735, addressed to the viceroy a memorial on the situation in the California missions (HM 1289). A document written in 1738 by Father Ignacio María Napoli, who established the mission of Santiago, describes with graphic detail the martyrdom of the two padres in 1734 (HM 4039). An appeal for help was made to Manuel Huidobro, governor of Sonora and Sinaloa, and he came over to the peninsula with an army to subdue the general insurrection of the natives. But Governor Huidobro had troubles with

Indian rebellion in his own government. In 1740 the Yaquis and Mayos broke out in revolt. A 39-page extracto tells of the origin and events of this uprising (HM 1299). Bound with this is another extracto, of 27 pages, dealing with the same events and with the recall of

Huidobro in 1741.

The famous three-volume Noticia de la California, published in 1757 with the name of Venegas on the title-page but actually prepared in Spain by Andrés Burriel, was drawn primarily from the much more extensive historical manuscript written by Miguel Venegas in 1739, under the title "Impresas apostolicas de los padres missioneros de la compañia de Jesus de Nueva España obradas en la conquista de Californias . . . historiadas por el P. Miguel Venegas One of the most important manuscripts in Hispanic American materials in the Huntington Library is a copy of a large portion of this Venegas manuscript of 1739. The copy fills six bound volumes and includes more than 2,500 pages. The first volume of the Venegas work is presented only by indications of the contents of the first four chapters and a note as to the rest. The first chapter of the second Venegas volume is likewise given only a descriptive paragraph. But thereafter, through volumes two to seven of the original, the text is apparently copied in full. A note then follows to the effect that volumes eight to ten of the Venegas manuscript are not copied. Descriptive titles are given, however, for the entire list of chapters in each of these last three volumes. The identity of the scholar for whom the copy was made is unknown, but his memoranda are to be found in several places in the manuscript and are couched in French. Naturally this manuscript, containing apparently more than half of the 1739 original and telling a story much more detailed than the printed work of Burriel, is of very great value (HM 509).

The scholar — presumably French — who had the copy made and annotated, collected other manuscripts, which fill two additional volumes similarly bound. One has already been described as bearing the binder's title "Pièces diverses sur l'antique Californie" and containing the manuscripts (HM 4092 to HM 4102). The other is a body of material collected in 1792 but covering the years 1531–1762. It is en-

¹ See ante, pp. 21-22.

titled "Establecimiento y progresos de las misiones de la antigua California, Tomo XXI" and is drawn from the letters of Salvatierra,

Taraval, and other Jesuit fathers."

The expedition of Father Fernando Consag, in 1746, around the head of the Gulf of California finds representation in his "Derrotero del viage," a 34-page diary signed by Consag and accompanied by a manuscript map of the Gulf (HM 1293). The derrotero and map are printed in Burriel's Noticia. Another manuscript of Consag's is entitled "Addiciones a las noticias contenidas en la descripcion compendiosa de lo descuvierto, y conocido de la California" and consists of 28 pages, including six devoted to drawings and notes (HM 1295). In a letter addressed to Father Altamirano in Spain, November 26, 1746, Father Taraval discusses California and the question of its peninsularity, and incloses a sketch of the Kino map of the head of the Gulf, drawn in 1701 and first published in 1705 (HM 22234).

A large number of the Spanish manuscripts preserved in the Huntington Library for the years from 1740 to 1760 appear to have relation to the historical work of Andrés Burriel. In his handwriting under date of 1744 is an eight-page summary of informes or reports of eleven of the California missions (HM 1291). A letter from Juan Antonio Balthasar, visitador de las misiones de la provincia de Mexico, written on March 25, 1749, to Father Pedro Ignacio Altamirano, procurador general de Indias, in Spain (HM 22236), gives a clue to this historical activity. Balthasar speaks of a letter by Burriel, written a few years before, advocating the collection and publication of materials relating to the work of the Jesuits in Mexico and the Philippines. Balthasar, who had sent copies of this letter to the missions of California and Sonora, reports that he has received a body of material concerning the travels of Kino, and other accounts relating to Pimería, which he is forwarding. Added to this letter is a note in Burriel's hand indicating that it was passed on to him. Burriel in his note refers to an extracto made by himself from the relación which accompanied the letter, and bound with this letter and note is the 24-page synopsis, "Extracto, y notillas breves," also in Burriel's hand (HM 1296).

¹ The manuscript has been printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, 4th Ser., Vol. V.

In the following year (June 3, 1750), Burriel, writing to a friend of his appointment by Altamirano to prepare a history of California, says that, at the same time the King refused to let him go to the Indies, he received from Altamirano the history of the Californias by Venegas, and the relation of Pimería which Balthasar had sent on. He mentions his intention of writing first the *Noticia* of California, then continuing the work to cover all of the Indies in a series of *Cartas edificantes* like those published in France. The letter covers sixteen pages of most interesting historiographical comment (HM 22237). A report by Jacob Sedelmayr of his work in Sonora (HM 22238), a series of copies of letters of various priests dealing with Sinaloa (HM 1292), and other similar documents of the period perhaps have connection with the same general project.

Two documents in Burriel's hand (HM 1297, 1298) are drafts of chapters one to four and part of five, of the first volume of the *Noticia*, and chapters one to five and part of six, of the second volume. These contain numerous verbal changes and many sentences or paragraphs crossed out and not appearing in the published work. The first document includes a manuscript copy of Kino's map of the head of the

Gulf.

The Noticia was published in 1757. In the years that followed, particularly 1759 and 1760, Burriel carried on a correspondence (HM 22240 to HM 22246) with Fathers Balthasar and Juan de Armesto, with Bernardo Pazuengas, and with the bibliographer, Eguiara y Eguren, involving frank discussion of the merits and errors of the work, and mentioning the requests for extension of the project to cover Sonora, the Philippines, and even Paraguay. A manuscript of 1756, perhaps related to Burriel's work, is a copy of an extensive account by Cardiel dealing with the history of Paraguay (HM 22239).

Two unbound manuscripts give considerable information of great background value. One is a group of signed reports, rendered in accordance with a royal order of 1758, and giving lists of "Gobernadores, Corregidores, y Alcaldes" in the various provinces, with information regarding these individuals. This valuable assemblage of reports comprises 164 pages (HM 4251). The other document (attributed to Father Miguel Gerstner) consists of 260 pages and describes in detail the condition of the people and country in the province

of Sonora about the year 1760 (HM 4267). An unsigned document of approximately 1765 gives an account of agriculture and stock raising in various "Haciendas de Californias," along with instructions "para

su mejor manejo" (HM 1479).

In this year 1765, José de Gálvez came to New Spain as visitador general, and a new era began with respect to the frontiers on the north and west. In connection with the appointment and arrival of Gálvez, there are several manuscripts that are evidently contemporaneous copies torn from a book in which they were entered. One is a 24-page set of instructions from the King to Gálvez, March 14, 1765, by the hand of Arriaga, in consequence of the appointment of Gálvez as visitador general (HM 4049). A group of similar leaves from the record contains two additional royal orders, with dates of March 10 and 25, and manuscripts bearing on the coming of Gálvez, signed by the viceroy, Cruillas, and other officials of New Spain (HM 4050).

It is necessary at this point to describe in some detail the extensive collection of the Gálvez papers. The relation of Gálvez to the expulsion of the Jesuits from Baja California, the organization of the expedition to occupy Alta California, and the preparatory steps toward an overland route from Sonora to Alta California, make his correspondence of unusual importance. The Gálvez papers are a group of about 733 unbound manuscripts, assembled in 1794 by the then viceroy of New Spain, Revilla Gigedo (the younger), and consisting of the correspondence between the visitador general, José de Gálvez, and the three successive viceroys of the period of his visitorship, Joaquín Monserrat, Marqués de Cruillas, Carlos Francisco de Croix, Marqués de Croix, and Antonio María Bucareli y Ursúa. These papers number about 583 manuscripts. In addition there are perhaps 150 letters between Gálvez or the viceroys and other individuals or groups. These letters are, in general, inclosures in the main body of correspondence but include also copies of decrees, proclamations; and other similar papers. The collection being apparently drawn from the records of the viceroyalty, the incoming letters from Gálvez are originals, while the outgoing letters are office copies.

The letters cover the period from July 18, 1765, on which date Gálvez writes that he has just arrived at Vera Cruz, to February 17,

¹ This document is printed in the appendix to Priestley, José de Gálvez.

1772, when he writes from Vera Cruz on the eve of his departure for

Spain.1

Two letters are outside the above time range. One is an inclosure dating back to September 17, 1763; the other, a short note from Balthasar Ladrón de Guevara to Melchor de Peramás dated late in 1772. Accompanying the collection are five manuscript calendars prepared in 1794, apparently by Antonio Bonilla, secretary of Revilla Gigedo, and giving an itemized description of the assembled material.

The chronological arrangement of the Gálvez letters discloses a notable gap in the winter of 1769–70. There are no letters from Viceroy Croix to Gálvez between November 16, 1769, and June 15, 1770, and there are no letters from Gálvez to Croix between August 29, 1769, and June 16, 1770. Otherwise the correspondence is fairly uninterrupted. The mental illness of the visitor, acute at this particular time,

is probably responsible for the hiatus.

During the first year after the arrival of Gálvez, the Marqués de Cruillas was viceroy, and harmony was less marked between these two officials than in the relations with Croix and Bucareli. There are 72 letters from Gálvez to Cruillas in this period, and 123 from Cruillas to the visitor-general. Many of these letters show the dispute between the visitor and the viceroy over authority. Examples are an eight-page letter from Gálvez to Cruillas dealing with the treatment of a French ship and an English ship off Baja California (Ga 52), and orders sent out by Cruillas to Villalba and other officers to refuse aid to Gálvez in his visitation (Ga 87).

More important for the history of Alta California and much more numerous, are the letters between Gálvez and the next viceroy, the Marqués de Croix, there being 146 by the former and 177 by the latter, covering the period from August, 1766, to September, 1771. Gálvez found a friendly associate in Croix, and in these years his plans for

² The Huntington Library has among its books a volume of *Correspondance du Marquis de Croix* . . . 1737–1786 (Nantes, 1891). The letters are from Croix to his brother and do not

in any way duplicate the Gálvez papers.

It has been stated that Gálvez left about the end of November, arriving on December 17 at Havana, where he was detained by adverse wind and weather until April, 1772. (Priestley, José de Gálvez, p. 311.) But there are sixteen manuscripts from Gálvez dated at Mexico between January 7 and January 31, 1772, inclusive, and letters of February 14, 15, and 17 indicate his presence on those dates at Vera Cruz.

Alta California were put into execution. A large number of these items deal with the details of the removal of the Jesuit missionaries from Baja California, with the preparations and execution of the Indian campaign, and with the expedition to San Diego and Monterey. A few examples will indicate the type of manuscript included in this group: A six-page manuscript gives a report of a junta convened on May 16, 1768, in which the plans for the northern expedition were discussed and formulated. It is signed by Gálvez, Miguel Costansó, engineer, Antonio Faveau Quesada, Manuel Ribero Cordero, naval commander, and Vizente Vila, who accompanied the expedition as captain of the "San Carlos" (Ga 419). A map, probably by Jorge Storace, showing the coast from San Blas to Cape Mendocino, bears the date 1769 (Ga 566). Under date of June 10, 1769, is an eight-page letter from Gálvez to Croix about plans for missions in California and the importance of debarring other powers (Ga 568). A detailed tabular statement paraphed by Gálvez on August 1, 1769, presents figures for the persons, livestock, armament, equipment, supplies, and so forth, for the land-and-sea expedition, in 1769, to San Diego and Monterey. These tables include information about the supply ship "San José," which did not complete the voyage to San Diego, and was later lost at sea (Ga 532). The instructions given to Domingo Antonio Callegari and Felipe Jimínez, first and second captains of the lost boat, bear date of May 10 (Ga 592). A briefer statement, showing the provisions with which the "San Antonio" was laden but not giving figures for the personnel, was forwarded to Croix, August 22, 1769 (Ga 527). Separate inventories of the persons and equipment and the supplies carried are given for the "San José" under date of June 5 and 6 and July 10 (Ga 402, 506), the first being a 24-page report by the commander Calligari, the second, a less full statement in tabular form, signed and sent by Gálvez to Croix.

Other items in the important year 1769 include reports of volunteer forces in the Indian campaign, statements of costs of supplies for the new missions to the Californias, accounts of the progress of these missions, memorials presented by Indians, proclamations and decrees, and correspondence of Gálvez with Beleño, subdelegate, Juan de Pineda, governor of Sonora, and with Colonel Domingo Elizondo and Captain Lorenzo Cancio in regard to the armies in the northern provinces.

Bucareli became viceroy in September, 1771, and during the next five months the correspondence includes 38 of his letters to Gálvez, and 27 addressed to him from Gálvez, in addition to many inclosures and other miscellaneous letters and documents. This portion of the group has less direct bearing on the Californias than the correspondence with Croix. Many of the manuscripts deal with the Indian difficulties in the provinces of Sonora and Sinaloa; others relate to the California missions of Baja California and the regions of the Gila and Colorado rivers (Ga 674, 644), but a greater number are concerned with the affairs of New Spain as a whole and are in general briefer manuscripts.

Among the other writers and recipients of letters in the Gálvez papers are Carlos III, Juan Joseph de Echeveste, Pedro Gorostiza, Francisco Galindo, Manuel Ribero Cordero, Roque de Garate, Francisco Corrés, Francisco Joaquín Valdez, Juan Gutierrez, and Bernardo de Gálvez. Aside from the manuscripts in the Gálvez correspondence, there are several bound volumes of papers of considerable interest with respect to Gálvez and his enterprises. One of these is a report made by Gálvez at the end of his career as visitor. It bears the date December 31, 1771, and the title "Informe Instructivo del Visitador Gener¹. de Nueva España al Excmo. Sor. Virrey de ella Don Antonio Bucareli y Ursúa, en cumplimiento de Real Orden de 24 de Mayo de 1771." It is introduced by a short covering letter to Grimaldi, of January 28, 1772. The letter and report are both signed by Gálvez and the two documents cover 409 pages (HM 1881). Another document (HM 534), of 594 pages, is clearly explained by its title, "Documentos citados en el Informe Instructivo de 31 de Diziembre de 1771." Since the "Informe" has been printed, the "Documentos citados" becomes much the more important manuscript.

Among the unbound manuscripts are also many letters, reports, and memorials dealing with the visitador general and his projects of expansion on the frontiers of New Spain. Only a few of these can be mentioned by way of illustration. The expulsion of the Jesuits is the theme of a letter from Father Salgado, in 1767, to Captain Cancio, to whom was intrusted the removal of the padres from the California missions to Guaymas in Sonora (HM 4042); and the same subject is dealt with in a letter of June 3, 1769, from the viceroy (Croix) to

Elizondo (HM 22487).

Parallel with the removal of the Jesuits went the effort to subjugate the Indians in Sonora — a necessary adjunct to successful overland advance from the mines to Alta California. A group of 42 pages of letters to Miguel Parzel y Manrique by Diego Peirán, an officer of the Sonora campaign, and dated at Tepic, July 12 to 26, 1767, tells of activities and difficulties at the point of departure. The letters deal largely with Portolá's preparations for the trip to Baja California to expel the Jesuits, and with Elizondo's expedition which was arranging to embark for the Sonora campaign (HM 4041). Many letters describe the struggle with the Indians on the frontier. On April 13, 1767, Juan de Pineda, governor of Sonora, wrote to Croix, the viceroy, describing the military preparations made in that province for the campaign (HM 4040). A"Diario de las operaciones" from November 13 to December 17, 1768, tells of the attack upon the Indians in their mountain fastness of Cerro Prieto (HM 4051). Indian affairs in that region in 1769 are discussed in reports written in April and June (HM 4045). Bearing date of May 8, 1869, is a proclamation of Gálvez declaring an armistice and offering amnesty to the Indians (HM 4046). A second attack on Cerro Prieto is described by a report from Pitic on November 7, 1769 (HM 4048), and a report on November 13 from Elizondo himself to Governor Pineda (HM 4052). A most interesting letter of this period is apparently from Francisco Xavier de Gamboa, dated at Mexico, February 15, 1769, and answering a letter from Bucareli asking for a statement as to the character of the officials of New Spain. The writer filled sixteen pages with detailed and unsparing description of the personalities and activities of Gálvez, Croix, and many other individuals (HM 4043).

The insanity of Gálvez, in 1769, was attended with much trouble with his subordinate officers. Among the many documents which resulted in part from these estrangements, two are noteworthy because of the light they throw on the controversy, and because of the amount of specific information they contain. One is a 31-page petition, signed by Viniegro, Argüello, and Azanza (later viceroy of New Spain), at Havana, February 6, 1771, after they had been ordered home to Spain by Gálvez (HM 4057). The other is a document by Beleña, who had been subdelegate under Gálvez, and had incurred his displeasure because of statements made as to the mental state of the visitor. The

first four pages of the manuscript give a survey of the academic and official career of Beleña. The rest of the manuscript (about 160 pages) consists of a copy of the "Manifiesto" of Beleña, detailing his activities in New Spain in connection with the program of Gálvez (HM 1545). The date of the "Manifiesto" in the copy is March 31, 1772, but it is identical with the document, of 255 paragraphs, that Priestley cites from the Spanish archives in José de Gálvez, although in the

archival manuscript the date is April 9.

The advance into Alta California in 1769 and thereafter is described in many documents. A photostatic copy presents the manuscript of Junipero Serra's diary from January 6 to June 30, 1769, covering the days of his overland journey to San Diego (Fac 67). A manuscript, unfortunately not signed, gives a participant's account of the occupation of San Diego in 1769. Internal evidence seems to identify the author as one of those who came on the ship "San Carlos." This manuscript comprises four pages, and was written at San Diego on June 8, 1769, after the arrival of the "San Antonio" and "San Carlos," and the land expedition under Rivera, but before the coming of Portolá and Junipero Serra. The writer tells of the wanderings of the two ships before they reached port, the sickness and death of members of the crew, and the experiences of Rivera's journey. He describes the port of San Diego and the neighboring land and Indians. He hopes each hour for the arrival of Portolá, and also awaits the coming of the supply ship, "San José." He speaks of diaries kept en route by Rivera and Crespi: "Desde Villacata, trae el Capitan Rivera su diario, y lo mismo el Pe Crespi" (HM 323).

A letter from Francisco Xavier de Gamboa to the Marqués de Montealegre on December 27, 1774, speaks of the progress of California missions and voyages along the Pacific coast, and the preparations of Anza for return to California overland with colonists (HM 24690). Among the bound volumes, an unsigned copy of Anza's "Diario de la Rutta, y Operaciones" devotes III pages to the outward and return journey between Tubac and San Gabriel from January 8 to May 27, 1774 (HM 1333). A sixty-page incomplete copy of Garcés' diary of his trip of 1775–76 covers the period October 21,

r P. 244, n. 14.

² Printed in Bolton, Anza's California Expedition, II, 1-130.

1775, to August 12, 1776 (HM 525). A photostatic reproduction gives the text of Father Pedro Font's short diary of the trip with

Anza² (Fac 59).

Father Francisco Antonio Barbastro, in charge of Sonora missions, complains, in a 46-page letter of July 9, 1788, of the conditions under the present management, and harks back to the good old days of Fathers Garcés and Font. This document is as yet uncatalogued. A manuscript of nine pages, written about 1790, gives a description of Monterey, and of the habits and conditions of the Indians in the region (HM 542).

A 218-page volume includes the logbook and diary of Don Gonzalo López de Haro on his exploration of the coast in 1788 (HM 146). A paper-bound volume of 340 pages is a document of José Longinos Martinez, about the year 1790, consisting of an "Extracto de las noticias y observaciones" which he has just made in old and new Cal-

ifornia (HM 321).

For the decade that follows, a number of manuscripts give a view of happenings in the Californias. A letter to Henry Dundas from Joseph Whidby, of the Vancouver expedition, tells in 1793 of a stop at Monterey (HM 22960). A bound volume of 398 pages contains the instructions which Revilla Gigedo, viceroy of New Spain, gave to his successor in June, 1794 (HM 228). Two documents addressed in 1795 and 1796 to the Marqués de Branciforte, viceroy, and brother-in-law of Godoy, deal with the administration of the Pious Fund (HM 4068, 4074). The fortification and defense of the Californias in 1795 and 1796 are discussed in letters to Branciforte from the Conde del Campo de Alange, from Godoy, and from Miguel José de Azanza, representing the home government (HM 4065-67, 4070). Many cases involving foreign ships and seamen are discussed in the correspondence of the period from 1795 to 1800. Godoy approves in 1795 the policy of forbidding the admission of foreign ships at the presidios of the Californias (HM 4075). Branciforte writes Godoy on January 12, 1796, of the case of José Burling, an Irishman who was landed at Santa Barbara by a British merchant ship, and wished to become a Catholic and

² Printed in Bolton, op. cit., III, 201-307.

This was printed, in English translation, in Coues, On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer (New York, 1900).

enter the service of Spain. A copy of Godoy's reply is filed with this document (HM 4069). Godoy sends information to Branciforte on March 3, 1796, of an English ship of war, "Polifamo," and the frigate, "Margarita," which are reported to have four hundred convicts on board destined for the region of Alta California (HM 4071). In August, 1799, a 65-page document was assembled containing affidavits of four English prisoners taken from the ship "Betsy" of London (HM 4110), and, on October 27 of the same year, Azanza, the viceroy, wrote to Langara giving reports of foreign ships, inclosing the above affidavits, commenting on them, and urging two frigates of war to augment the defense of the coast (HM 4109).

A royal cedula of three pages, issued on December 22, 1800, relates to accounts of the progress of the missions (HM 4079); and a document of 32 pages describes at length the Indians who inhabited the northern frontiers of New Spain. The Apaches receive the most attention, but the Yumas, Comanches, and Pawnees are also discussed. Alta California is mentioned only in connection with the Yumas and

Father Garcés (HM 543).

Eight or ten manuscripts between 1786 and 1810 deal with the port of San Blas, founded by Gálvez in 1768 in connection with his plans for the development of the Californias. These manuscripts comprise orders, instructions, and letters in regard to regulations of the port and its commerce with the Californias.

In the manuscripts of the 1820's and 1830's, familiar names appear in the correspondence. A letter of March 26, 1829, written by Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna, introduces Don Raphael Martínez to Joel Roberts Poinsett, then minister to Mexico (HM 20720). On November 14, 1834, Governor José Figueroa writes to the Governor of Texas and Coahuila in regard to land sales (HM 4087), and on December 25 of the next year José Antonio de Carrillo writes to Abel Stearns introducing Mariano Chico. A friendly letter from Jacob P. Leese to Abel Stearns, May 8, 1837, tells of the recent marriage of the former and notes a consignment of 288 deerskins which he is sending by Captain Sutter for Stearns to dispose of for him in exchange for hides and tallow at San Pedro. The last two items are facsimiles made from originals which are not in the Huntington Library (Fac 207, 217). A similar type of document (Fac 36) by Thomas O. Larkin, American consul in

Monterey, is a thirteen-page list of "Names of British subjects and citizens of the United States who resided in Alta California prior to 1840." It also gives the place of residence, profession, and year of arrival. Another facsimile (Fac 106) is a photostat of a contemporaneous copy of the agreement between Micheltoreno and José Castro on

February 22, 1845, after the battle of Cahuenga Pass.

The papers of Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo reflect the activities of a man of extended career and of much importance in California history. Migrating to San Francisco in 1830 from his native town of Monterey, he became an influential figure in military affairs, founded Sonoma in 1835, and was made comandante general of California in the following year. He was involved in practically all the revolutions of the stirring period of the thirties and early forties, and was made prisoner by the Bear Flag revolutionists in 1846, although then and thereafter more kindly disposed than his fellow Californians to the American occupation of the province. Later he served in the first constitutional convention and in the senate of the state, and lived to a ripe and respected old age. The Vallejo manuscripts in the Huntington Library number about 300, of which perhaps two-thirds are in Spanish. They range in date from 1833 to 1888. A more real concentration is indicated by the fact that nearly 75 per cent of the documents deal with the period of the 1840's and more than sixty per cent are manuscripts of the years 1844, 1845, and 1846. Drafts of letters from Vallejo himself number about 40 and include letters addressed to Governor Micheltorena, John A. Sutter, and Jacob Leese. The years 1833 to 1839 are represented by 38 manuscripts, all in Spanish. About 16 of these are receipts and memoranda; among the remaining documents are letters of Jesus María Vasquez del Mercado, José Antonio Sanchez, Juan Bautista Alvarado, Nicolas Gutiérrez, Andrés Castilleros, Eugenio Montenegro, Antonio María Osio, and John McLoughlin of Fort Vancouver. A few copies of letters from Vallejo himself to Alvarado, Castilleros, and others are in the group. Among the subjects discussed in the manuscripts are the treatment of the Indians by Padre Mercado in 1833, the defense of the northern frontier, and relations with the missions.

In the early forties Vallejo's correspondents continue to be practically all Californians, and include Mercado, Osio, and Alvarado (above mentioned), and Manuel Torres, Rafael Téllez, Juan Prado Mesa,

Antonio Pico, Antonio Real, and Vallejo's brothers José de Jesus and Salvador. His most frequent correspondent in this period is Manuel Micheltorena, to whom he wrote about fifteen letters and from whom he received five. Under date of August 17, 1844, is a group of documents bearing on the case of Dr. Edward Turner Bale, who tried to shoot Vallejo's brother Salvador, and in September a more extended collection of documents tells of the case against Corporal Juan Lizalde for insubordination. In 1844 the papers begin to represent the relations of Vallejo with foreigners. Letters to and from William Hinckley, William Richardson, John A. Sutter, Stephen Smith, and Jacob Leese, appear at this time, written in Spanish, although in later years his English-speaking friends resorted to their own language."

In the papers of William Leidesdorff, master of the schooner "Julia Ann" from 1840 to 1845, is much information on the trade in hides and tallow and other commodities up and down the coast from Alta California to Mazatlan and other southern ports and from California to the Sandwich Islands. Some of his more frequent correspondents in this connection are Henry Dalton, who had close business relations with Leidesdorff, A. B. Thompson, similarly interested in trade, and John Parrott, coast trader and owner of the ill-fated "Star of the West," wrecked near Monterey in 1845. Among the letters of Parrott is one containing a long and bitter denunciation of Larkin (Le 63). Late in 1845 Leidesdorff became vice-consul for the United States in San Francisco, and the bulk of his papers belong to the period of conquest and control by the United States and will be described hereafter.

One more document must be mentioned, since it deals in an extensive manner with the last thirty years of the Spanish regime. Antonio María Osio, a man of some prominence in political affairs in California and holder of many offices in San Francisco in the 1830's and 1840's, wrote a history of his times, in Spanish, entitled "Cronica de los acontecemientos occurridos en California..." It was never published, but a copy of the manuscript is among the papers in the Huntington Library. It consists of nearly 500 pages, covers the years 1815 to 1846, and is of considerable importance as a chronicle, by a contemporary, of the period immediately preceding American

occupation.

The manuscripts relating to events of 1846 onwards will be discussed later.

American Period

The stirring times that came with the conquest and occupation of California by the Americans found many commentators in the writers of letters and diaries, military returns, official reports, and proclamations. Both in the collected papers of individuals and among the miscellaneous California manuscripts in the Huntington Library, the

work of these contemporary scribes has found lodgment.

The proclamations of the excited Castro, rallying his Californians in March, 1846, against Frémont encamped at Gavilan Peak (Fac 102); of William B. Ide on June 15, the day after the Bear Flag revolt, "to all persons, Citizens of Sonoma, requesting them to remain at peace" (HM 4116), and again on June 18 to the people of California (Fac 104); of Commodore Sloat in July, taking formal possession of California (Fac 101); and of Commodore Stockton on August 17, at Los Angeles, announcing that California "now belongs to the United States" (HM 291), show the rapid strides of the conquest. José Noriega and four others sign their names on July 11 to a parole as released prisoners from Fort Sacramento at New Helvetia, and the master of the establishment, John A. Sutter, witnesses the paper (HM 540). On August 8, Sutter puts his name down on a list of thirty who sign articles of enlistment in the military service of the United States at New Helvetia (HM 539). Edward Kern comes to the fort as military commander, and Lieutenant J. W. Revere, in a similar position at Sonoma, writes him in regard to their duties in the American occupation (HM 20660). General Vallejo, taken as a prisoner from Sonoma, in the Bear Flag uprising, to Fort Sacramento, writes from Sutter's Ranch a friendly letter to Edward Kern, on August 14 (after his release), expressing his appreciation of the latter's kindness (HM 20662). A five-page letter from Edward Kern — artist now turned soldier - illustrated with one of his amusing drawings, recounts the story of the Bear Flag revolt and the events that followed at his new post on Sutter's Ranch (HM 20649). In the winter of 1846-47 the Donner party was caught in the snows of the Sierras; and Kern writes in January, 1847, a letter describing vividly the tragic sufferings of the party, to whom relief is being sent from the fort

(HM 21355). A group of facsimiles of many important documents for the year 1846 supplements the original papers and includes letters and proclamations from Larkin, Frémont, José Castro, Montgomery, Francisco Guerrera, William B. Ide, Sloat, Stockton, and Pio Pico.

In the collection of the Vallejo papers, there is little added by the pen of General Vallejo himself to the story of the Bear Flag incident in which he played so unfortunate a part. But there is a considerable body of papers, in most cases not addressed to Vallejo, that give information on the revolt and upon the formation of a military force at Sonoma in the months that followed. There is a ration list made out by Captain John Grigsby for militia at Sonoma between July 9 and August 4, 1846; an agreement, dated August 4 and signed by Grigsby and about fifty men of the garrison at Sonoma, volunteering to serve in the forces of the United States; a list of men enrolled in Captain Grigsby's company during the months of October and November, 1846, and a statement of the articles of agreement of these men. Forty-six items are receipts from soldiers for articles given them by Lieutenant Joseph W. Revere, at Sonoma, in connection with the organization of the United States forces in August and September in the northern region.

Various other side lights on the events of 1846 are found in the letters to Vallejo. There is, for example, a four-page letter from Folsom dated November 30, 1847, asking Vallejo for information as to Frémont's proceedings — particularly in connection with the "Black Bear' reign." Folsom remarks that "Matter has recently been elicited in the southern part of the country, touching Lieut. Col. J. C. Fremont's official conduct there, which makes it very desirable to obtain from suitable sources, a correct account of his proceedings at an earlier date, in this portion of the territory," and he states his belief that "well disposed Californians were driven into hostility by the ill-advised, injudicious, and dishonest conduct of our own agents" (Va 155).

Manuscripts for 1846 are very numerous. Those for 1847 to 1849 are fewer but include some interesting items — for example, a fourpage letter from James Buchanan, January 13, 1847, to Larkin in regard to his official services on the Pacific Coast (Va 150b), an unsigned

For a description of the Vallejo papers as a whole and of the earlier manuscripts, see ante, pp. 34-35.

document in 1847 telling of the capture of Washington A. Bartlett, alcalde of San Francisco, while on a raid after cattle (Va 157), and a receipt and agreement, signed by Thomas O. Larkin and Jacob Leese, in connection with gold received from Colonel R. B. Mason for the trade with the East Indies, or elsewhere, by the brig "Eveline," owned

by Larkin and Leese (Va 159).

For the period of the 1850's there are only about 33 documents in the Vallejo papers. Among these manuscripts are a Spanish description of Monterey and a list of names of inhabitants of early California (both items belonging approximately to the year 1850), letters from Larkin to Jacob Leese about the latter's Frémont claim and in regard to the Limantour claims, and other letters dealing with the Limantour case, Indian affairs, and the Terry-Broderick duel. One letter, in French, is from Gaston de Raousset-Boulbon, filibuster in Sonora. It is undated as to year but deals with the buying of cattle and horses and probably precedes one of his expeditions in the period 1852–54. Only about ten items are preserved for the years after 1859, and several of these are requests for information in regard to the events of the 1840's.

The collected papers of William Leidesdorff add much to the story of this period. The group includes about 550 manuscripts. Most of these are in English, approximately fifteen per cent being in Spanish and about a dozen manuscripts in German and French. The materials are almost entirely concerned with the decade of the 1840's, and consist largely of letters received by William Leidesdorff in the period from 1840 to the time of his death in May, 1848. Of the letters and documents after this date (only about 68 in number and dated 1848 to 1867), comparatively few relate to Leidesdorff or his estate directly. Over half of them originated in the latter part of 1848 and in 1849. The later manuscripts are scattering, the greatest concentrations being in 1852 and 1853, with eight and sixteen items respectively. More than one-half of the manuscripts dated after the death of Leidesdorff are letters to or from Joseph L. Folsom.

Mostly the letters deal with business affairs. In the early years—1840 to 1845— when Leidesdorff was master of the ship "Julia Ann," they throw light on the trade along the coast and across to the Sandwich Islands. In the later years, when Leidesdorff settled down to

permanent residence and mercantile life in San Francisco, they give a similarly detailed view of the activities of a store which supplied a wide area with wine, hardware, groceries, etc., in exchange for wheat, lumber, skins, and other products of the region. But Leidesdorff had wider interests. Toward the end of 1845 he was made vice-consul of the United States in San Francisco by appointment from Thomas O. Larkin, and political matters entered his correspondence. He was interested in real estate in San Francisco and in ranch property, and he put the first steamboat on San Francisco Bay. He became intimately associated with many of the principals who played parts in the Bear Flag incident and the American occupation and establishment of government.

The two most notable groups of letters in the Leidesdorff papers are those of Thomas O. Larkin and John A. Sutter. Of the former there are more than sixty letters. They deal largely with business, but are often lengthy and contain important comment on the men and politics of the stirring years of 1846 and 1847. Leidesdorff apparently kept few copies of his own letters. Only two or three copies are to be found among the Leidesdorff papers. The last one (October 14, 1847) is a vigorous reply (Le 342) to Larkin's protest (Le 337) against Leidesdorff's bill for goods and services as agent. Both protest and answer are couched in blunt language, and Leidesdorff ends his by serving

notice that he will no longer act as Larkin's agent.

The Sutter letters (about 35 in number) reflect even more characteristically the nature of the writer. The energetic Swiss had constant business dealings with Leidesdorff, not only for supplies for his post in the Sacramento Valley, but also in connection with the payments to the Russian American Company for which Leidesdorff acted as agent. Also Sutter wrote of more personal and intimate affairs, commenting on individuals in connection with the Bear Flag affair, and expressing his humiliation at serving as second in command (under Edward Kern) at his own establishment during the military regime. Sutter's letters are mostly of the period before the discovery of gold. Of the half dozen after this date, one (Le 413; March 25, 1848), in Sutter's often broken English, is worth quoting as significant of his attitude. He devotes a full page to comments on the arrival of his launch, the bad weather, wheat he is sending to Leidesdorff, and the

sawmill he has completed in the mountains. Then, apparently as an afterthought, he adds the following paragraph:

"We intend to form a company for working the gold mines which prove to be very rich, would you not take a share in it? So soon as if it would not pay well we could stop it at any time."

Correspondence of the Californians is represented by letters of Mariano Vallejo, Juan Bautista Alvarado, Pio Pico, Francesco Guerrero, Antonio Peralta, Miguel Pedroreno, various members of the Castro family, the Frenchmen Victor Prudon, Jean L. Vignes, and Joseph Yves Limantour, and others. Letters and orders of Montgomery and Stockton, Gillespie and Mason throw light on public affairs in which these men were involved. There are several Frémont letters, though not addressed to Leidesdorff.

Many letters came from Willard Buzzell, farmer on Leidesdorff's ranch in the Sacramento Valley, Theodore Cordua of New Helvetia, Stephen Smith of Bodega, David Spence of Monterey, Nathan Spear of Napa, and Major Pierson B. Reading of the California Battalion. Less frequent correspondents, from whom came letters of some importance, are George Hyde, Robert Semple, Lansford W. Hastings, Talbot H. Green, George Vincent, W. D. M. Howard, David M. Laughlin of Oregon City, and the British vice-consul, James A. Forbes.

Only thirty manuscripts are from Leidesdorff himself. Of these, ten are business papers, receipts, etc.; the rest are copies of letters to various correspondents. Five are to Tebenhoff and other representatives of the Russian American Company, and show a cordial relationship with these officials. Leidesdorff acted as their agent in receiving payment, largely in wheat, from Sutter toward the extinction of the latter's debt for the purchase of the Russian properties in California. In one of these letters (Le 233; February 16, 1847) to Tebenhoff, Leidesdorff remarks of Sutter: "his lands are now embargoed, and that was the only thing that could be done to secure the debt belonging to your company." Other letters written by Leidesdorff are to Larkin, Sutter, Gillespie, Henry Dalton, and Peter Skeene Ogden and James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company.

Many letters written neither by nor to Leidesdorff, and in some cases seemingly unconnected with his affairs, are found among the papers. There is a group of true copies of twelve letters and orders to Charles M. Weber in October and November, 1846, by Washington A. Bartlett, alcalde at San Francisco, John B. Montgomery, John C. Frémont, and J. S. Misroon. These manuscripts give much information on the unrest and threatened hostilities in the neighborhood of San José, where Weber was alcalde and commander of the military

post.

The largest body of apparently extraneous correspondence is made up of the letters to and from Joseph L. Folsom, prominent in the history of San Francisco and the Sacramento Valley. There are two main groups of these letters. The first belongs to the years 1848 and 1849 and consists of letters that passed between Folsom and Anthony Ten Eyck, who was United States Commissioner to Hawaii. These letters are long and intimate, and very revealing as to the attitude and activities of the commissioner. They are full of comment on the doings of Dr. Judd and the relations of the Sandwich Islands and California. Another group of letters belongs to the years 1852 and 1853, and consists primarily of long communications from Folsom's lawyer and agent, A. C. Peachy. Most of these were written when Folsom was in Europe and therefore are purposely informing as to conditions and events in California. They deal with politics, land matters, law courts and cases, San Francisco water-front affairs, and the Nugent-Hays duel. Aside from these two groups, there are scattering letters from Folsom — for example, one to James Douglas of the Hudson's Bay Company, and one to the Secretary of the National Institute in Washington, D.C., in August, 1848, sending seven samples of California gold, including what he claims to be "The first piece of gold ever discovered in the northern part of upper California found by J. M. Marshall at the Saw Mill of John A. Sutter."

Another group of manuscripts apparently unrelated to Leidesdorff consists of seven original letters from William Tecumseh Sherman to Colonel Jonathan D. Stevenson of the regiment of New York Volunteers. These all fall within the period between January 16 and August 8, 1848, while Sherman was a young officer acting as adjutant general under the military governor, Colonel R. B. Mason. The first

of the seven is a long personal letter, full of references to political affairs and prospects, comments on Senator Benton and Colonel Frémont, and remarks on a newspaper attack upon himself. The remaining six are official communications transmitting orders or instructions on behalf of Colonel Mason. They deal fully with the fears of a conspiracy of Californians and the seizure of several of their leaders, with the episode of the disappearance of a six-pound gun near Santa Barbara and the consequent levying of a military contribution upon that town, and with the abandoning of the military post at Los Angeles.

One of the most striking letters in the Leidesdorff papers is from James Gadsden, of South Carolina, to General Thomas Jefferson Green, a North Carolinian who had recently migrated to California and was a member of the state senate. It is dated in December, 1851, and has to do with a memorial of Gadsden's to the California legislature asking for a large concession of land for colonization purposes. The letter discloses the intention of the writer to bring slaves into the state of California and enter upon the production of rice, cotton, and

sugar (Le 470).

The so-called "Fort Sutter Papers" furnish a valuable supplement to the Leidesdorff and Vallejo papers, particularly with reference to the events in the years 1846-47. The group is really a collection of the papers of Edward M. and Richard Kern, and contains much that is not related to Fort Sutter. There are about 160 manuscripts and three manuscript maps, 102 engraved plates, and seven printed maps. At the time of acquisition these items, under the title "Fort Sutter Papers," were already sumptuously bound in thirty-nine volumes accompanied by an additional introductory volume giving a printed description of the contents of the papers. In each volume, furthermore, is a printed comment on the manuscript or manuscripts contained therein. With this mechanical organization it seemed impracticable to change the arrangement of the papers to a strictly chronological order, or to add to the group other Kern manuscripts subsequently acquired. After the purchase of the manuscripts, an edition of twenty copies of the letters, published in a single volume, was offered in toto to Mr. Huntington, who refused to buy. Copies are available in the New York Public Library, Bancroft Library, and probably in a few other libraries.

The manuscripts are arranged in a roughly chronological sequence, though this order is necessarily disturbed because of the method of grouping. Twelve of the volumes contain but one manuscript each. In the other volumes letters are grouped according to the general subject, as in volume twenty-six, which contains eleven manuscripts relating to the relief expedition for the Donner party, and volume thirty-one, whose eight manuscripts deal with Frémont's disastrous expedition of 1848; or according to the correspondents, as in volume eight, which contains three letters from Washington A. Bartlett, and volume eighteen, in which are gathered sixteen manuscripts of Captain

John B. Montgomery.

The papers cover the period from 1845 to 1862, but approximately one-half belong to the year 1846. About thirty are of the year 1847, fifteen of the year 1851 (when Edward Kern left the West), and the remaining documents are scattering. Three are manuscript maps dated 1849 and show the route between Fort Smith and Santa Fé in connection with the James H. Simpson expedition. These are reproduced among the seven printed maps noted hereafter. The last volume contains 102 engravings from drawings made by the Kern brothers on the Simpson expedition or by Richard Kern on the Sitgreaves exploration of 1851, in the region of the Zuñi, Little Colorado, Colorado, and Gila rivers. In this volume are also seven printed maps, six of them connected with the expeditions mentioned and the seventh showing the coast settlements of California, from the latitude of Fort Sutter south, in 1847.

Over three-fourths of the documents are from or to the Kern brothers. Approximately 35 are from Edward M. Kern and about 80 are addressed to him. Manuscripts to and from Richard Kern number about 15. There are some 30 other documents, in most cases related to events involving the Kerns, and many of these items contain sig-

nificant material.

Edward Kern joined Frémont's third expedition, in 1845, and in June wrote from Westport an enlivening four-page letter to his brother describing the scenes at the little Missouri River settlement where the emigrants started for the West. In 1846, after the occupation of California by the Americans, Kern was appointed by Frémont as military commander of Fort Sutter. Letters and documents, proclamations,

pay rolls, and petitions contribute greatly to our knowledge of the new regime in the north, the activities of Frémont, the captivity at Fort Sutter of the Californians seized in the Bear Flag revolt, Indian affairs,

and the establishment of mail service.

Among the correspondents of the Kerns were John B. Montgomery, John C. Frémont, Archibald H. Gillespie, Charles E. Pickett, Lieutenants Joseph W. Revere and J. S. Misroon, Antoine Robidoux, Edwin Bryant, Washington A. Bartlett, George McKinstry, William Leidesdorff, and William Richardson. In original form, or in contemporaneous copies or translations, are preserved Governor Castro's proclamation against Frémont at the time of his stand at Gavilan Peak, the proclamation of Commodore Sloat upon the taking over of California, a report of Dr. Robert Semple in connection with the Bear Flag incident, documents of John Sinclair and others in regard to the rescue of the Donner party, instructions from Captain Montgomery, and an unexpurgated series of extracts from Lieutenant Simpson's journal, containing strictures on Frémont not published in the government report.

In 1848–49 Edward Kern was with Frémont's fourth expedition, in 1849 he was draughtsman with the Simpson expedition, and in 1851 a member of the expedition under John Pope from Santa Fé to Fort Leavenworth. His brother, Richard Kern, was with him on the Frémont expedition of 1848 and on the Simpson expedition, and accompanied the Sitgreaves expedition in 1851. Their letters and reports

throw much light on these events.

In addition to the manuscripts in the collection of Fort Sutter or Kern papers described above, there are many important letters relating to the expeditions of 1848, 1849, and 1851, and seven volumes of pocket diaries kept by Edward, Richard, and Benjamin Kern. Three cover the fateful Frémont expedition of 1848 in the Rockies, and four deal with the expeditions of 1849 and 1851. These letters and diaries cannot be further described here, since they relate to an area outside the scope of the present survey.

Almost simultaneously with the signing of the treaty which legalized American possession of California, came the discovery of gold. The documents, both in collections and among miscellaneous manuscripts, dealing with the finding of gold and the rush that followed are

so numerous that only a few can be mentioned. References to the strike itself are frequent in the letters of those who were already in California, and in the diaries of such men as Kimball H. Dimmick, who came out by way of the Horn in 1846 as an officer in the regiment of New York volunteers.

The accounts of overland and sea travel to California and of life in the mining regions constitute an exceedingly rich body of material. The records are usually in one of two forms: series of letters by the adventurers, telling step by step of their experiences, and diaries or

narratives embodied usually in a single document.

Among the earlier series is that of H. O. Comstock, who came by the somewhat unusual itinerary of New York-Vera Cruz-Guadalajara-San Francisco, and was sending home a description of the mines by June 5, 1849. In April of 1849, George B. Upton was writing on board the ship "Sir Walter Scott" and composed many later letters. The detailed communications of Charles G. Plummer, who also came by sea in 1849, add much information. Some of the other correspondents who devote their attention more specifically to mining and commercial conditions in California in the first years after the gold discovery are: A. C. Sweetser (whose letters begin in 1850 and deal largely with the Sacramento region), Edwin F. Littlefield, J. S. Stickney, Kimball H. Dimmick, Zachariah and Jonathan Heywood (who wrote from Sacramento, Jacksonville, and Yreka), and James Clarke (who moved from San Francisco to southern California and wrote frequently from Los Angeles). Various individual letters also give graphic accounts of the trips to California or the life in the mines — for example, a twelvepage letter by S. Shufelt from Placerville, March 3, 1850 (HM 537), and one from Nevada, California, written by W. E. Pearce on May 12, 1851 (HM 20706).

Among the series of letters written later in the fifties are those of William P. Reynolds, mainly in 1858-59; about 35 by James Colby and his family, from San Francisco in 1859-62; and nearly 30 by Chauncey E. Stearns, who drifted slowly across the continent in

1855-59 and continued to write home until 1867.

The more formal diaries and narratives of those who came to California in the late forties or early fifties represent many types of individuals, almost every land and water route to the mining region, and

a great variety of experiences after arrival. They range from small pocket journals, with scrappy entries of happenings, to long and

labored narratives written years after the events described.

When the news of gold in California reached the East in the fall of 1848, the seafarers were the first able to set out upon the quest, inasmuch as the overland travelers must wait for the coming of spring on the plains. Before the close of 1848 a few ships were on their way toward the Isthmus of Panamá or Cape Horn, and in the first few months of 1849 scores had taken to the sea. William O. Herbert left Boston on New Year's Day, 1849, and at his leisure on board the "Elvira" wrote more than a hundred pages about his experiences (HM 978). John Hovey, a few weeks later, sailed from Newburyport, and in his journal of nearly 150 pages told of the sea and the mines and profusely illustrated his tale by water-color sketches of ships and camps, mines, and Sutter's Fort (HM 322). The notes of Albert Williams, who came by Panamá and reached San Francisco on the "Oregon" April 1, 1849 (HM 632); the anonymous chronicle of the ship "Robert Bowne," with extended notes on the sea voyage and a detailed passenger list (HM 519); the journals of William H. De Costa. and his copies of the "Petrel" and the "Shark," manuscript newspapers issued on board the "Duxbury" (HM 234, 249) — all give an idea of the variety of tales which the sea travelers told.

There were many more. The journals of George F. Kent (HM 524), George Sherman (HM 2178), Henry Sturdivant (HM 261), John R. McFarlan (HM 14182), and others, add to the story of the sea voyage extended accounts of the mines or of commercial operations in the various towns. Charles G. Plummer, who put into a letter dated June 30 to July 6, 1849, his daily observations on the trip around Cape Horn (HM 23343), also recorded, in a pocket journal of ninety-five pages, his experiences as a seeker after gold in 1850–51 (HM 2017). The unsigned narrative of a Polander tells of leaving his home in Mississippi in February, 1849, and traveling to California by way of the Tombigbee River, Mobile Bay, and Brownsville, Texas, across Mexico to Mazatlan, and thence to San Francisco, the mines, and

later to the Humboldt Bay region (HM 4162).

Those who came by land had less leisure for writing, but their accounts are numerous and their experiences even more varied. James

Clyman's nine small diaries record his travels in 1844 from Independence to Oregon, and a year later from Oregon to California. He was years ahead of the gold rush, but in his train from Oregon was James W. Marshall, who later discovered the nuggets at Sutter's mill (HM 3900). The 1849 journal of J. Goldsborough Bruff (HM 252) not only describes his overland travels, but is accompanied by a huge portfolio of the maps and penciled and colored sketches which he drew en route and in the mines. Other typical diaries of the year 1849 are by Joseph W. Wood (HM 318), Catherine M. Haun (HM 538), Elisha Perkins (HM 1547), George W. B. Evans (Fac 69), and C. C. Cox (Fac 59).

Some of the forty-niners strayed from the regular routes and struck directly across Death Valley; and the valley took a terrible toll of the Jayhawker party and of the parallel party of men, women, and children whose sufferings William L. Manly has described. The Jayhawkers who survived formed an organization and kept up the ties of association for a half century and more. The Jayhawker papers, recently acquired and not yet catalogued, are a group of letters and other material preserved by one John Colton, of the party. Instead of being contemporaneous documents, the manuscripts are largely the correspondence of the survivors, and other memorabilia running through the years since 1849. There are about 550 letters, in addition to eight volumes of newspaper clippings. A memorandum lists thirtynine persons as belonging to the original party and gives some biographical data on each. There are numerous letters of the Reverend J. W. Brier and his family, and of William L. Manly. Naturally, in such a group of letters and reminiscences, there is much that is priceless to the student of the overland journey. But the record in the Jayhawker papers is more than that: it is the poignant story of the gradual fading out of a party during the long years after their remarkable experience. William L. Manly, whose smaller party struggled through the same tragedy, and whose Death Valley in '49 has become a classic, wrote to Colton in 1900: "This is my last so goodby John about worn out what I send you I wrote long ago"; and as late as 1916, two-thirds of a century after the event, the two last survivors were still writing each other letters.

Information on the operations of mining companies is to be gleaned from such documents as the minutes of the meetings of the Vineyard

Mining Company, 1849-50 (HM 4161), the Stanislaus and Carson Hill Gold Extracting Company, 1852 (HM 292), and the Carson Mining Company, 1863-73 (HM 952). A great deal of material on the valuable quicksilver mines of New Almaden, in Santa Clara County, is to be found in the extensive but as yet uncatalogued collection of papers of John A. Rockwell, who was congressman from Connecticut in the forties and carried on for many years thereafter a law practice in the national capital. In April, 1850, he became the Washington agent of the firm of Barron, Forbes and Company, who were the principal owners of the New Almaden mines. Many letters to Rockwell from the company and from Reverdy Johnson, A. C. Peachy, Frederick Billings, and Goodhue and Company of New York, illuminate the affairs of the company and the famous litigation over ownership and mining rights which went on in the latter part of the fifties and the early sixties in the lower courts and before the Supreme Court of the United States.

Scattered through the miscellaneous manuscripts are many items dealing with other notable land cases, such as the Limantour case, the Peralta case, and the Mariposa case. There is also much material on individual ranches. A register of the Chino ranch contains about fifty or sixty pages of entries by travelers who stopped at the ranch (HM 531). The first entry was of August 12, 1849. The entries are most numerous for the years from 1849 to 1853 and are quite informing as to routes, equipment, experiences on the way, and the personnel of parties coming into California. This manuscript volume was edited by Mr. Lindley Bynum and appeared in the 1934 *Publications* of the Historical Society of Southern California. A later master of the rancho, Richard Gird, tells in one of his journals (HM 2279) the story of Chino ranch from 1881 to 1886.

Two unified groups of papers may be mentioned here as representing commercial interests. One is a collection of business materials known as the "Prince Papers" and having to do with the period 1848 to 1854. It consists of record books, letters, and other manuscripts relating to the commercial operations of W. R. Prince, and others, of the city of Sacramento. The Center papers, a larger group, also relating primarily to commercial affairs, comprise 362 manuscripts ranging in time from 1845 to 1884. John Center came to San Francisco in 1849

and engaged in the gardening business. More than three-fourths of

the papers are for the period 1850-69.

The papers of James W. Mandeville number nearly 700 items, almost all of them being personal letters to Mandeville. The extreme range of dates is from April 5, 1848, to August 13, 1861, but there are only about a dozen papers which lie outside of the decade of the 1850's, and of the dozen only two come from California. Mandeville, a schoolteacher from Sherburne, New York, came to California by way of Panamá in the spring of 1849. For a time he taught school in San José but soon settled down at Sonora, in Tuolumne County, where he was engaged in mining operations. In 1852 he was elected to the state assembly from Tuolumne County and served in the sessions of 1853 and 1854. From 1855 to 1857 he was in the state senate. It is this period of four years, 1853-57, that is most illuminated by the Mandeville correspondence. Only two letters are from Mandeville himself. Many are from his relatives and friends in New York and give a picture of the reactions of the people in the East to the news from the gold mines. But the largest part of the collection is political in nature and emanates from Mandeville's fellow politicians in San Francisco, Sacramento, San José, Benicia, Stockton, and Los Angeles, and from his own constituents in Tuolumne County.

Mandeville was an anti-Broderick Democrat and an adherent of William M. Gwin, from whom he received eleven letters in the period 1855-57. The contest between the Broderick and Gwin factions of the party is well aired in the Mandeville letters, particularly in the months preceding the United States senatorial election of January, 1857. The letters from constituents and political friends deal, as might be expected, with appointments to office, the passing of laws, the changing of county boundaries, county, state, and national conventions, the Vigilance Committee of 1856, the presidential election of 1856, the doings of the Know-Nothings, affairs in Kansas, and the election of

United States Senators and Representatives.

Mandeville's most frequent correspondent was P. L. Solomon, a local politician who became United States marshal in 1857. Thirty-six letters indicate the close relations between these two men. Others of his correspondents were Kimball H. Dimmick, who had settled in Los Angeles; Milton S. Latham, who was at various times congress-

man, collector of the port of San Francisco, governor, and United States Senator; Charles L. Scott, congressman; John T. Knox, of Sacramento; E. R. Galvin, of Columbia; F. Amyx, of Sonora; L. B. Curtiss, of Greenwood; Robert McGarvey, of La Grange; and A. C. Bradford, of Stockton. There are a very few letters to other persons than Mandeville. Among these is one from Benjamin D. Wilson (Don Benito) to William M. Gwin, December 6, 1856.

The letters to Mandeville, though for the most part from men of no great prominence, give an excellent view of local politics of the 1850's. They also contribute to an understanding of the southern mining regions. Mandeville was interested in mining and in a water company in the Tuolumne area, and his constituents and friends wrote with some local color and detail from such settlements as Sonora, Knight's Ferry, Murphy's Camp, Jamestown, Columbia, Big Oak Flat, Don Pedro's Bar, Wood's Creek, Brown's Flat, Shaw's Flat, Montezuma,

Rich Gulch Flat, and Chinese Camp.¹

The San Francisco Committee of Vigilance of 1856 has not had the same modern historical treatment that Miss Mary F. Williams gave to the committee of 1851, largely because of the incompleteness of the source material. Bancroft, who devoted the second volume of his *Popular Tribunals* to the later committee, had access, according to Miss Williams, to the archives of the committee of 1856 but was unable to keep them, and in 1914 "was unaware of their location." Miss Williams surmises that the archives were in large part destroyed in the fire of 1906. However this may be, the Huntington Library has in its possession, in the papers acquired from Mr. A. S. McDonald of Oakland in 1916, and from Mr. Sigurd Frederickson of San Francisco in 1931, approximately 4,000 manuscripts which doubtless were originally a part of the archives of the executive committee of the Committee of Vigilance of 1856.

The minutes of the meetings of the executive committee are not among these papers, nor are the formal records that must have been kept of the trials conducted and the action taken by this body. The

¹ In connection with the Mandeville manuscripts, one may consult a book by Albert Dressler, Letters to a Pioneer Settler (San Francisco, 1925). It contains twenty letters of this same period, written to Mandeville. These letters are in most cases by the same writers as in the above manuscript collection, but in no case is there a duplication of letters.

papers possessed by the Library are mostly in the nature of incoming materials and may be roughly classified as follows:

1. Letters and documents to the number of about 500.

2. Accepted applications for membership in the Committee of Vigilance — perhaps 2,400.

3. Bills and receipts for expenses of the Committee of Vigilance—between 700 and 800 items.

4. Blank forms, about 300 in number.

5. Notebooks (43) showing the activities of the Committee of Vigilance and its subdivisions.

Of the letters and documents, some 300 are from the McDonald papers, while about 200 are from the Frederickson papers. A large number of these are letters from individuals making charges or giving information in regard to suspects or prisoners. Other manuscripts show the effort of the Committee of Vigilance to purify its own membership, and consist of letters from members bringing accusations against other members, or defending themselves against action to strike them from the roll. Confessions, depositions, and affidavits in connection with cases before the executive committee constitute a large and very important group. They give detailed information, not only on the outstanding cases such as those of Casey and Cora, Judge Ned McGowan, and Judge Terry, but on scores of other cases less well known but equally illustrative of the conditions of 1856. There are many documents in regard to the murder of James King of William, scores of letters and documents concerning ballot boxes with false sides and bottoms and secret compartments, a report of the committee on frauds (appointed in 1855 in connection with a municipal election in San Francisco), a report of the grand jury for the term ending June 1, 1856, abstracts from court records, 23 pages of notes and memoranda for use in the argument of T. J. L. Smiley in the prosecution of Judge Terry for the stabbing of Hopkins, a petition (with 52 signatures) addressed to President Pierce and praying for the removal of J. Y. McDuffie (a professional gambler) as marshal of the northern district, a list of certificates delivered (giving date, name, number, and amount paid), a key to the filing system of affidavits, and many other miscellaneous documents.

About 1,600 applications for membership, from the McDonald papers, and over 800 from the Frederickson papers, give a partial roll of the committee, together with data in regard to the age, nativity, residence, occupation, and sponsors of each member. An application of this kind for Leland Stanford will sufficiently illustrate the possible

utility of these papers.

Among the McDonald papers is a box of some 700 or 800 manuscripts consisting of bills, receipts, and accompanying documents. With the exception of about fifty, these are Vigilance Committee items serially numbered and dated in 1856. They represent expenditures for arms and ammunition, rent, groceries, and other supplies, services, etc. The excepted fifty papers are in a pack by themselves, are dated in 1858, and are made out to J. D. Farwell. Farwell was a prominent member of the executive committee, and the presence of this small group of apparently personal and unrelated bills suggests that the McDonald papers may have originated in a collection of materials retained by Farwell after the Vigilance days.

The 300-odd blank forms were acquired with the Frederickson papers and include forms for applications for membership, orders to report, certificates for membership in the military department, and commissions for offices in the military department. With these papers are three commissions signed by Charles Doane, grand marshal, sealed with the seal of the military department, and made out to particular

individuals but apparently never delivered.

The 43 notebooks are worth considering in some detail. Acquired with the McDonald papers are 33 small, leather-bound notebooks—an incomplete record of the raising of funds for the Committee of Vigilance. In each case the book was issued to a representative of one of the organized companies or other units, and headed by an authorization to collect funds, signed by "33 Secy" and sealed with the official seal of the committee. In some cases no moneys were reported as collected. In other cases many names and amounts were entered. The sums subscribed vary from \$1 to \$200 (e.g., Flint, Peabody and Company subscribed the latter sum through Company 10).

A book somewhat similar in form and size, marked "Police," is full of significant lists, memoranda, etc., apparently kept by a member of the executive committee. This book contains, among other data, a

list of thirty-four members of the executive committee, a list of members of each of thirteen subcommittees, statements of action by the committee, addresses, items of agenda, etc.

Acquired with the Frederickson papers are three volumes entitled "Authorization to collect funds," similar to the ones described above; and a book marked "Auditing Committee," which contains accounts of this subcommittee of the executive committee for the dates from

May 23 to September 6, 1856.

The remaining five volumes are from the McDonald papers. One contains, aside from a series of personal accounts of 1850 and 1851, many pages given over to inventories of guns and equipment from the schooners "Julia" and "Mariposa," and from various repositories in the city. Two dates in September, 1856, are the only clues as to time. A small book contains the muster roll of Company D, Marine Battery. with the Vigilance Committee number opposite each of the sixty-nine names. A larger book with few pages inscribed gives the personnel, by guns, of Company D, copies of several orders issued to the company, and "Business Transactions &c" of the organization during several meetings in June and August, 1856. In the absence of the official records of the meetings and trials conducted by the executive committee, the remaining two books are of some importance. These are indexes. One gives the names, alphabetically arranged, of cases brought before the committee, with the page of the record entered opposite the name. Page numbers run as high as 162. The other index volume gives, on the right-hand pages, an alphabetically arranged list of men bringing accusation, and, on the left-hand pages, lists of the "persons implicated by affidavit of" the accuser. The citations to the pages of the record appear opposite the names on the right-hand pages. A check of page references shows these two indexes to relate to the same record book.

In the manuscripts of the Huntington Library there is less material representative of the sixties than of the fifties. Although there was considerable Confederate sympathy in various parts of the state, the Civil War occupied the minds of the people much less than in the East. In the Center papers, and in the letters and diaries of Frank Hinkley, there is comment on the war, along with descriptions of

^x Ante, pp. 48-49.

² Post, p. 57.

conditions of a more general nature. Here and there in the letters of Chauncey Stearns and of James Colby are references to matters of recruiting and to troubles over southern sentiment. An incomplete letter of Governor Frederick F. Low, in January, 1864, speaks of the rebel influence in California politics. General Henry W. Halleck writes from San Francisco, on December 15, 1865, to Francis Lieber, of the project of the "Pacific Republic" and the still lingering inten-

sity of Confederacy sentiment.

Communication and transportation are described in a letter-press copy of a history of the Pony Express by J. S. Roberson (HM 317); a journal in French by F. Bierter of a trip from Los Angeles to Tucson in 1860–61 (HM 4367); and a diary of a young girl's trip from Texas to California in 1869 (HM 966). In a large book of four or five hundred closely written pages, James M. Spence kept a diary for the years 1858 to 1868 (HM 324). He tells in great detail of mining operations in various parts of the state, from the standpoint of an owner and company officer. His descriptions are particularly valuable in connection with his interests in the silver mines in the Soledad mining region north of Los Angeles.

A body of material highly concentrated in point of area and time is the group known as the "Elliott Papers." Primarily, these manuscripts deal with the background of the founding of Pasadena, although interspersed through the letters is a large amount of information with regard to the other towns and the agricultural regions of southern California. The range of dates is from August 1, 1873, to November 19, 1874, and there are approximately 141 manuscripts. Of these, about 133 are from one individual, D. M. Berry, and almost all of them are addressed to Dr. T. B. Elliott, a business partner of Berry's

and interested with him in the founding of the new town.

D. M. Berry came out in the summer of 1873, deputized with several other members of the California Colony of Indiana to choose a site for a settlement. His first letter, August 21, 1873, is dated at San Francisco. From here he went by boat to San Diego and investigated and reported upon the land and conditions in that neighborhood. A letter of August 31, 1873, describes the town, harbor, and environs in some detail. On September 1 he wrote an account (HM 24551) of his voyage from San Francisco to San Diego, evidently intended for pub-

lication in the Inter-Ocean. Stops on the way gave rise to comments on the town of Santa Barbara and the "harbor of Wilmington or San Pedro." In September he came to Los Angeles and also visited Anaheim, San Bernardino, the San Fernando Valley, Santa Anita, and other points. On September 12 he wrote from Los Angeles that he had been out in the country, where he had visited a 2,800-acre tract that greatly delighted him. This land was in the area of the present site of Pasadena. The letters that follow tell the story of enthusiasms and discouragements, the replacement of the California Colony of Indiana by the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association, the negotiations with Dr. John S. Griffin and Don Benito Wilson for the partition of their joint holdings, and the purchase of the land on which the new town was to be established.

Mr. Berry, the secretary of the company and the active agent in the enterprise, wrote with fluency and frankness, and his letters embody not only an account of land operations and plans for community development but include also many descriptions of neighboring ranches, towns, and competitive sites, and colorful comments on individuals with whom he came in contact and upon passing events ranging from the panic of 1873 to the capture of the bandit Tiburcio Vasquez (HM 24645, 24648). One of the few documents not written by Berry is a manuscript of six pages, by Dr. T. B. Elliott, giving a concise history of the San Gabriel Orange Grove Association (HM 2284). The last letter in the group — November 19, 1874 — is largely a panegyric by Berry on the city of San Francisco and its future prospects (HM 24674).

Not long after the founding of Pasadena, there came to the town Professor Ezra C. Carr and his wife Jeanne C. Carr, and their papers have recently been acquired. Mr. Carr had been professor of chemistry and natural history at the University of Wisconsin. His wife was possessed of great intelligence and a life-long interest in botany. They arrived in California late in the 1860's, and for a time Mr. Carr served as state superintendent of public instruction. In the latter part of the seventies they moved to Pasadena and established a home called "Carmelita," now a park known as "Carmelita Gardens." The papers are mostly those of Mrs. Carr. Included in the collection are letters from such notable friends as John Muir, Carl Schurz, Lyman C.

Draper, James Hall, Asa Grey, Paul Du Chaillu, and Mary A. Livermore. There are also papers or unfinished drafts, by Mrs. Carr, of an autobiography, a diary of 1851, recollections of John Muir and Helen Hunt Jackson, an account of the Rancho San Pasquale, and other writings on California history. A small book of many pages contains detailed notes on early California persons and events. The papers

have not yet been catalogued.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the retrospective tendency of the early American settlers in California found prolific expression. Of the numerous memoirs and reminiscences in the Library, two are especially worthy of mention, and must serve to represent the type. One is the group of reminiscences and addresses of Elisha O. Crosby, legislator and constitution maker of 1849 (HM 279, 280, 284). The other is the collection of "Sketches of California" by Thomas G. Cary (HM 285). The latter manuscript consists of more than 250 pages and is a copy made in 1887 from the original which was later burned in the San Francisco fire. The sketches tell of many phases of California life, particularly in the 1840's and 1850's. The discussion of the Vigilance Committee of 1856 is especially valuable because of

Cary's own part in the affair.

Scattered through the miscellaneous files is an interesting series of letters from Josiah Royce, the philosopher and California historian, to Henry L. Oak, one of the historical writers on the staff of Hubert H. Bancroft. These letters number about sixteen, cover the period from September, 1884, to September, 1886, and are usually long and intimate. Their main theme is the story of Frémont in California, which Royce was studying at that time in connection with his book on California. He writes of numerous letters from and interviews with the Frémonts. Oak himself wrote, some years later, an account of Frémont and the conquest of California (HM 325). Jessie Benton Frémont gave her version (HM 319) of secret affairs in California during the Mexican War, particularly dealing with Senator Benton's connection with the instructions to Larkin about California. A letter from Frémont himself, on June 4, 1889, to Colonel De Armand (HM 4368) states that he has been called to California on business of which he has talked to the Colonel. He adds, "Say to Madame that I am going to be successful in this business." There are a great many fugitive

manuscripts dealing with the stormy career of Frémont.

One of the most important recent acquisitions is the collection of Solano-Reeves papers. These manuscripts are the product, during approximately a half century, of the most important surveying concern in southern California. They cover the period from 1853 to about 1905. George Hansen, county surveyor of Los Angeles County, was joined in the 1880's by Alfred Solano, and later Solano and S. B. Reeves were in partnership. The papers have not yet been catalogued and can only be described generally. They include over a thousand maps of Los Angeles and the neighborhood - maps of lots and subdivisions, streets, and sewers in the city, and of ranches in the surrounding region. Aside from this group of maps, there are notes, deeds, and other papers relative to individual surveys, field notes, and additional maps and charts accompanying them. More than 250 field books give data on the surveying operations, and a large number of less formal diaries present nonprofessional information of great value as to the land and inhabitants of southern California. The usefulness of this body of basic material for studies of the growth of Los Angeles and of the ranchos is obvious.

Other recent additions to the Department of Manuscripts are a set of ledgers and accounts of a general merchandising store in the old town of Benton, from 1876 on; a group of letters of Helen Hunt Jackson in regard to the Saboba Indians in the 1880's; about 147 letters and twenty-five years of the diaries, beginning in 1863, of Frank Hinkley, one of the engineers who helped build the Central Pacific Railroad and who was interested in ranching in Santa Clara and San Bernardino counties; and, of more recent years, a considerable body of transactions and minutes of land and water companies in Riverside County.

The latest important acquisition is a group of about three thousand papers of the Shorb family which was prominent in southern California for a long period of years and owned at one time the land upon which the Huntington Library now stands. These manuscripts extend down into the period of the twentieth century. An account of their more

specific contents must await later exploration.

In conclusion it may be said that the Library has manuscript sources for the study of California in many phases and in every period. There has been less emphasis upon materials on the industrial period of the last fifty or seventy-five years, but the preceding paragraphs will indicate a trend toward acquisitions in this direction. The Library has an unusual wealth of materials on the Baja California and Sonora background, on the advance into Alta California, and on Pacific voyages in the days of both the early explorers and the later Argonauts. If it be noted that there are fewer manuscripts on Alta California in the first four decades of the eighteenth century, it must also be remembered that, in those years of dolce far niente, the simple annals of the Californians went largely unrecorded. It is for the period of struggle of the 1840's and 1850's that the Huntington Library has its greatest and most varied treasures.

Robert Recorde's Mathematical Teaching and the Anti-Aristotelian Movement

By FRANCIS R. JOHNSON AND SANFORD V. LARKEY

HE importance of Robert Recorde in the history of mathematics in sixteenth-century England has long been recognized, and his place as the writer of the earliest notable textbooks of mathematics in the English language is universally conceded. On the other hand, his great influence as an original thinker and teacher has not been adequately emphasized, and the methods he advocated and practiced in the teaching of the mathematical sciences have never been fully described. Yet Recorde devoted much attention in his writings to developing the best ways of presenting his subject matter so that it could be grasped more readily by the average student. Thus, on the one hand, he subjected the pedagogical methods of his time to much intelligent criticism and revision, and, on the other, presented a searching analysis of the scientific thought of his age. In these respects he is an outstanding forerunner of Peter Ramus and Francis Bacon, the two men most often mentioned as the leaders in emancipating the modern world from the methodology of scholasticism and the authority of Aristotle in the natural sciences. Inasmuch as Recorde's works remained the standard popular textbooks on mathematical subjects throughout the Elizabethan period, his original ideas and his system of instruction have a very important bearing on the dissemination of scientific knowledge and the character of scientific thought during the English Renaissance. In this paper, therefore, we intend first to describe Recorde's aims and methods in the teaching of the sciences, and then to point out briefly their relation to Renaissance pedagogical theories and to the general anti-Aristotelian movement.

In his various books, and particularly in his *Pathway to knowledg* (1551) and his *Castle of Knowledge* (1556), Recorde has set forth in a most forceful and detailed manner his ideas on the teaching of mathe-

matics. His chief aim was the intensely practical one of arousing interest in the many useful applications of mathematical knowledge, and so training his pupils that they would, at the earliest possible moment, be able to employ their new learning in solving specific problems. At the same time, he made it clear that he regarded a complete understanding and mastery of underlying principles as absolutely essential to sustained progress in the mathematical sciences, and would not tolerate any plan which merely enunciated empirical rules and expected the student to learn to apply them before he comprehended them. Thus, the secret of Recorde's method of instruction was the skilful and intelligent combination, at each successive step, of the theoretical and the applied phases of mathematics. This accounts for the distinctive features of his system, which we shall discuss in greater detail: his insistence on a definite order in the study of the various branches of the science; his emphasis on simple explanations of fundamental ideas and principles, while consistently deferring the consideration of exceptions to these principles, together with the proofs and demonstrations, until the student had mastered the basic concepts; his use of the dialogue form, together with the constant employment of visual and manual aids to instruction; his joining of each new principle to its application in a practical problem; and his careful arrangement and criticism of authorities proposed for further reading and study.

Recorde was one of the outstanding scholars in England in the middle of the sixteenth century, and hence was exceptionally qualified to be the pioneer in the teaching of mathematics in the English language. Born about 1510, he was educated at Oxford, where he took his B.A. and perhaps his M.A., and was elected a fellow of All Souls College in 1531. Later he migrated to Cambridge, and received the degree of Doctor of Medicine from that university in 1545. He then returned to Oxford, where he taught for a while before removing to London. From 1551 until his death in 1558, he served as general surveyor of mines and money, under Edward VI and Queen Mary. As a scholar, Recorde's interests covered almost all fields of contemporary learning. Not only was he the master of all existing knowledge in the mathematical sciences, but he was also a learned physician, an able Greek scholar, a historian interested in the antiquities of Britain, and one of the earliest

students of the Anglo-Saxon language. As a teacher, however, his work was confined chiefly to the mathematical sciences, which he had taught at both Oxford and Cambridge. His unusual ability as an instructor in these subjects seems to have been recognized from the very beginning of his career. Anthony à Wood, paraphrasing the account published by John Bale in 1557, reports of Recorde that, while he was of All Souls College and afterwards when he returned from Cambridge to Oxford, he "publicly taught arithmetic, and the grounds of mathematics, with the art of true accompting. All which he rendred so clear and obvious to capacities, that none ever did the like before him in the memory of man." ²

Recorde's mathematical works, with which we are particularly concerned, consist of a series of textbooks whose purpose is to provide a thorough course in the elements of the various subjects treated. They are obviously the product of a well-designed plan for progressive instruction in the mathematical sciences, and were very probably written in the order in which they were intended to be studied. The logical sequence of these writings is made clear by the following verses, printed at the beginning of his *Castle of Knowledge* in 1556:

AN ADMONITION FOR THE

ordrely trade of studye in the Authors woorkes, appertaining to the mathematicalles.

The grounde is thought that steddye staye, Where no foote faileth that well was pyghte: Whereon who walketh by certaine waye, His pase is lyke to prosper ryghte.

- The Grounde of Artes who hathe well tredd, And noted well the slyppery slabbes, That may him force to slyde or falle, He hathe a staffe to staye withall.
- 2. Then if he trade that *Pathwaye* pure That unto Knowledge leadeth sure: He maye be bolde tapproche *The Gate*

3. Of Knowledge and passe in thereat.

² Athenae Oxonienses, ed. Bliss, I (1813), 255.

¹ Scriptorum illustriŭ maioris Brytannie, quam nunc Angliam & Scotiam uocant: Catalogus (Basle, 1557), p. 695.

Where if with Measure he doo well treate:

4. To Knowledges Castle he maye soone get.
There if he travaile and quainte him well.

5. The Treasure of Knowledge is his eche deale.

- 5. This Treasure though that some wold have,
- 3. Whiche Measures friendshippe do not crave, 2. Nor walke the Patthe that leadeth the waye,
- Nor in Artes grounde have made their staye, Thoughe bragge they maye, and get false fame,

4. In Knowledges courte thei never came."

The poem's enumeration of the books commences with Recorde's The Grounde of Artes, teachyng the perfect worke and practise of Arithmetike. First printed in 1542, it is the earliest known arithmetical textbook in the English language. Throughout the next hundred years it was the most popular arithmetical work in England, went through countless editions, and even continued in use until the beginning of the eighteenth century, the last edition having appeared in 1699.

The second book referred to is the *Pathway to knowledg*, first published in 1551. It was the earliest geometrical work in English, and was generally used until the beginning of the seventeenth century as an elementary textbook, the latest known edition being dated 1602.

The third book, the Gate of Knowledge, is no longer extant. From the poem it is apparent that it had to do with mensuration, and this fact is verified by the mention of it in the fourth book, the Castle of Knowledge (1556), where Recorde says: "You shall take a Quadrante (whose composition I have taught amongst other instruments in the Gate of knowledge. . .)." Inasmuch as Recorde refers to it in the same manner as he does to the Grounde of Artes and the Pathway, which we know were already in print by 1556, we may be sure that it was at least complete in manuscript by that date, if not actually published. We know that such a work was in preparation, but not yet issued, in 1551, for the Gate of Knowledge is undoubtedly the book alluded to in the following terms in the list of "suche bokes as ar ap-

² P. 68.

¹ Sig. a 8^r . In transcribing this, and all other quotations from Recorde's works, we have followed modern typographical practice with regard to i and j, and u and v; similarly, contractions have been expanded. Spelling, however, has not been altered.

poynted shortly to be set forth by the author herof," given in the preface to the second part of the Pathway:

The arte of Measuryng by the quadrate geometricall, and the disorders committed in usyng the same, not only reveled but reformed also (as muche as to the instrument pertayneth) by the devise of a newe quadrate newely invented by the author hereof.¹

The *Gate* very likely included other treatises, on mensuration and the construction and use of instruments, listed in the *Pathway* as forthcoming, such as:

The arte of measuryng by the astronomers staffe, and by the astronomers ryng, and the form of makyng them both.

The arte of makyng of Dials, bothe for the daie and the nyght. . . .

The makyng and use of an instrument, wherby you maye not onely measure the distance at ones of all places that you can see togyther, howe muche eche one is from you, and every one from other, but also therby to drawe the plotte of any countreie that you shall come in...²

The fourth book that Recorde's verses mention, the *Castle of Knowledge*, is still extant, copies of the first edition dated 1556, and of a later one printed in 1596, having survived. It is to be identified with the treatise on "The use bothe of the Globe and the Sphere," promised by Recorde in the *Pathway*, and was the earliest original textbook in English on the elements of astronomy, for all preceding works were merely translations or epitomes of medieval or classical authors.

The Treasure of Knowledge, the last work noted in the poem, was probably never completed and published, owing to Recorde's early death. Its subject, therefore, is uncertain, but it may have dealt with the practical application of astronomy to navigation, for in the list in the Pathway the art of navigation is indicated as the subject of the second section of the book on the use of the globe and sphere.³ On the other hand, it may have been a more advanced work on cosmography, or one on the "Theorick of the Planets," both of which are mentioned in the Castle 4 as subjects of future books by the author.

² Sigs. a 3^v-a 4^r.

³ This book on navigation is again mentioned by Recorde, as shortly to be published, in the dedication of his Whetstone of Witte to the Muscovy Company, in 1557.

⁴ Pp. 100, 193, 278-79.

Two other works on the mathematical sciences, referred to in the *Pathway* as in preparation, must be noted, since they undoubtedly had an important place in Recorde's general plan. One is "The seconde part of Arithmetike," which was published in 1557 under the title of the *Whetstone of Witte*, and was the first book on algebra printed in English. The other is a translation of Euclid, which was apparently never finished. The earliest English translation of Euclid to be published did not appear until 1570, and was done by Henry Billingsley

That Recorde regarded his various mathematical works as successive stages in a definite plan of study is further shown by his frequent insistence that the earlier textbooks must be mastered by the student before entering into the more advanced subjects. In the Castle of Knowledge, after the Master has explained the method of describing great circles upon the globe the Scholar is constructing, the latter says, "That can I do well ynough, by experience learned in often practisynge the conclusions of youre Pathway." Whereupon the Master replies, "That Pathwaye wyll leade you rightlye to this woorke, if it bee well travayled as it oughte to bee before you come to this woorke." Later in the same book, after the Master has said that the method of inscribing a circle in a square might be easily gathered from the 35th Conclusion of the Pathway, the following interesting passage occurs:

Schollar. I see now continually more and more, that the Pathwaye serveth to other uses, then I toke it.

Master. It is a common instrument to many arts, and infinite conclusions: and if you procede to farther knowledge of higher artes, without good exercise in it before, you do as a carpenter that goeth to woorke without his tooles.

The emphasis Recorde placed upon the order for studying the different branches of mathematics was merely one phase of his interest

¹ P. 38.

² P. 47. Other passages emphasizing the same point occur on pp. 17, 120, and elsewhere. William Cuningham, it is interesting to note, mentions (p. 4) in his *Cosmographical Glasse* (1559) the following works by Recorde which should be studied before attempting his work on astronomy and cosmography: the *Grounde of Artes*, the *Pathway*, and the *Whetstone of Witte*.

in the question of the proper order in teaching. He was equally insistent upon following a definite, systematic method in taking up the different topics within each subject, and this was perhaps the most significant feature of his system of instruction. His aim in all of his books is to give, first, a simple and clear exposition of the fundamental facts, leaving the proof or demonstration, and also the consideration of the exceptions to the general rules, until the student has thoroughly mastered the basic concepts. He stresses the fact that he is writing for the beginning student and not for the learned, and so gives rather long explanations of elementary matters. He sets forth this point of view in the preface to the *Grounde of Artes*:

... I doubt not but some will like this my booke above any other English Arithmeticke hitherto written, and namely such as lacke instructors, for whose sake I have so plainly set forth the examples, as no booke (that I have seene) hath done hitherto: which thing shall bee great ease to the rude Reader.¹

In the preface to the second book of the *Pathway*, Recorde states the essentials of his system of instruction. Although in this book the method applies only to geometry, it is used in the teaching of the other branches of science.

I truste all suche as bee not exercised in the studie of Geometrye, shall finde greate ease and furtheraunce by this simple, plaine, and easie forme of writinge. . . . For I dare presuppose of them, that thing which I have sette in my selfe, and have marked in others, that is to saye, that it is not easie for a man that shall travaile in a straunge arte, to understand at the beginninge bothe the thing that is taught and also the juste reason whie it is so. And by experience of teachinge I have tried it to bee true, for whenne I have taughte the proposition, as it imported in meaninge, and annexed the demonstration withall, I didde perceave that it was a greate trouble and a painefull vexacion of mynde to the learner, to comprehend bothe those thinges at ones. And therefore did I prove firste to make them to understande the sence of the propositions, and then afterward did they conceave the demonstrations muche soner, when they hadde the sentence of the propositions first ingrafted in their mindes. This thinge caused me in bothe these bookes to omitte the demonstrations, and to use onlye a plaine forme of declaration,

² Sig. B 3². This, and other passages from the *Grounde of Artes*, are quoted from the copy of the 1610 edition in the Huntington Library.

which might best serve for the firste introduction. Whiche example hat beene used by other learned menne before nowe, for not only Georgius Ioachimus Rheticus, but also Boetius that wittye clarke did set forth some whole books of Euclide, without any demonstration or any other declaration at al. But and if I shal hereafter perceave that it maie be a thankefull travaile to sette foorth the propositions of geometrie with demonstrations, I will not refuse to dooe it, and that with sundry varietees of demonstrations, bothe pleasaunt and profitable also.¹

In the *Castle*, likewise, there is a passage in which the Scholar complains that he can find no logical order in the books he has read on the sphere, "so that I know not wher to beginne." The Master answers:

As touchynge those writers, I will saye no more nowe, but although everye one of them have some thinges that exactlie scanned may be misliked, yet he that hath doone worste, is woorthie of thankes, for his studious paines in furtheringe of knowledge. And seyng you doubte of their ordre, lette the thinge itselfe minister ordre. What is it that you desire to know?

Scholar. I see in the heaven mervailous motions, and in the reste of the worlde straunge transmutations, and therfore desire muche to know what the worlde is, and what are the principall partes of it, and also how all these straung sightes doo come.

Maister. Then is the worlde the thinge that you woulde knowe first, syth all these other thinges are incident to it.²

After a brief discussion of the meaning of the term "world," Recorde again gives his idea of "The best ordre in teachinge":

Master. . . . I thynke it beste not onlye to make discourse lyghtlye of the principall partes of the worlde, but to dooe it in suche a brief sorte, as the mynde may conceave it soonest, and the memorye also retaine it longest: and therefore will I omytte all proofes, tyll we have ones generally drawen the ymage of the whole world, so shall not your memory be troubled with sundrye thinges at ones, as in learnyng a science whiche seemeth sumthing straunge, and in conceavyng the reasons of it, whiche in declaring, seeme much more straunge.

Scholar. In deed I have felt the discommoditie of suche hasty desires: for where I have sought reason, before I understoode, whereto that reason

¹ Sigs. a 2^v-a 3^r.

tended, I have troubled my mynde, and hyndred my knowledge. wherefore it may please you in your ordre to procede.

These are exactly the same principles as those set forth in the *Pathway*. With this basic idea in mind, Recorde has taken the material of Euclid's *Geometry* and, in his own textbook, the *Pathway*, has rearranged it to make it consistent with his theory of teaching. The *Pathway* originally was to have consisted of four books, but only the first two were published. He gives the contents of these:

The firste booke declareth the definitions of the termes and names used in Geometry, with certaine of the chiefe grounds whereon the arte is founded. And then teacheth those conclusions, which may serve diversely in all workes Geometricall.

The second book doth sette forth the Theoremes, (whiche maye be called approved truthes) servinge for the due knowledge and sure proofe of all conclusions and workes in Geometrye.

He defends this order, in the Preface to the second book:

In the meane season if any man muse why I have sette the Conclusions beefore the Teoremes, seynge many of the Theoremes seeme to include the cause of some of the conclusions, and therfore oughte to have gone before them, as the cause goeth before the effecte. Hereunto I saie, that although the cause doo go beefore the effect in order of nature, yet in order of teachyng the effect must be fyrst declared, and than the cause therof shewed, for so shal men best understand things. First to lerne that such thinges ar to be wrought, and secondarily what thei ar, and what thei do import, and than thirdly what is the cause thereof. An other cause why that the theoremes be put after the conclusions is this, whan I wrote these first cunclusions (which was .iiiij. yeres passed) I thought not then to have added any theoremes, but next unto the conclusions to have taught the order how to have applied them to work, for drawing of plottes, and such like uses. But afterward considering the great commoditie that thei serve for, and the light that thei do geve to all sortes of practise geometricall, besyde other more notable benefites, whiche shall be declared more specially in a place convenient, I thoughte beste to geve you some taste of theym, and the pleasaunt contemplation of suche geometrical propositions, which might serve diverselye in other bookes for the demonstrations and proofes of all Geometricall woorkes.2

^z Pp. 5-6.

² Sig. a 3^r.

When Recorde's book is compared with Euclid's Geometry, it will be seen that he has segregated the problems from the theorems, putting together in Book I almost all of the problems of Books I, II, III, and IV of Euclid (in virtually the same order), and in his Book II has included all of the theorems of Euclid, Books I, II, and III (Book IV consisting solely of problems). Thus the student is given the essentials of the grounds of plane geometry: the properties and the construction of triangles, squares, parallelograms, polygons, and circles, and the inscription and circumscription of rectilinear figures. The definitions are assembled at the beginning of Book I, while the "requests" (postulates) and "common sentences" (axioms) are in Book II. Incidentally, Recorde's definitions are simpler and more practical than those in Euclid. An example is his definition of "point":

A Poynt or a Prycke, is named of Geometricians that small and unsensible shape, whiche hath in it no partes, that is to say: nother length, breadth nor depth. But as this exactnes of definition is more meeter for onlye Theorike speculacion, then for practise and outwarde work (consideringe that myne intente is to applye all these whole principles to woorke), I thynke meeter for this purpose, to call a poynt or prycke, that small printe of penne, pencyle, or other instrumente, whiche is not moved, nor drawen from his fyrst touche, and therfore hath no notable length nor breadth: as this example doeth declare.²

In the four treatises of the *Castle of Knowledge* Recorde follows an arrangement very similar to that used in the *Pathway*. These treatises are thus described in "the contentes.":

The firste treatise is an introduction into the Sphere, declaringe the necessarye partes of it, as well for the materiall Sphere, as for the celestiall: And that no partes of it are admitted without profitable use.

Recorde was apparently the first modern writer to divide Euclid's propositions into two classifications: (1) "problems," which demanded that something be done, such as constructing a triangle, given two sides and the included angle, or inscribing a square in a given circle; and (2) "theorems," which require the general proof of some geometrical truth. Ramus has usually been credited by his biographers with being the first to suggest this distinction, which so obviously makes for greater clarity in the teaching of geometry. However, the earliest work by Ramus which contains this classification is his *Procemium Mathematicum*, published in 1567, sixteen years after Recorde's *Pathway*. Both Recorde and Ramus doubtless derived the idea from certain passages in Proclus' commentary on Euclid, first printed in Grynaeus' Greek edition of Euclid (Basle, 1533).

The second treatise doothe teache the makinge of the sphere. . . .

The thyrde treatise dooth briefly declare certain thinges appertaininge to the use of the Sphere, and other matters therunto incidente: without proofe or demonstration: and that briefly, for easinesse in learninge and remembringe.

The fourthe treatise doth approve manye thinges, that were noted in other partes before: and beside then addeth divers other maters, concerninge the necessarye use of the sphere, whiche were not touched before, and doth bring demonstration or other certaine proofe for the perswadinge of them....

Recorde observes this plan of teaching throughout the book. Thus, when the Scholar wants to know more about the movements of the planets, the Master says:

That shall be referred to the fourth treatise, wher I wyll shewe yow the proofe of all that you shall thinke doubtfull.²

He makes his explanations as simple as possible, sometimes, for the sake of brevity and clearness, using examples that are only approximately true. He defends this practice in a passage, "An ordre in teachinge":

Schollar. Yet I thinke in teaching there should bee used nothinge but certaine truthe.

Master. What so ever is taught to be retained for a truth oughte to be a very certaine truth in deede: and they do not well that in suche manner doo teache fyrste untruthes for truthes. but where induction is made by examples, it is often tymes more or at the leaste, no lesse expedient to use examples not exactly true, then to take only precyse true examples, for thereby it appeareth the proofe to bee of greater force, if it will procede in an example whiche is not precisely true. And in these examples we have so large scope of triall, that we neede not sticke for two or thre degrees.³

If the student does not understand the explanation of a certain topic, he is urged to ask the Master to repeat it. In the Grounde of Artes, the Scholar says:

... it is good to aske the truth of all such things, lest in trusting in mine owne conjecture, I bee deceived.

¹ Sig. A 1^v.

² P. 8. Similar statements appear on pp. 10, 32, 63, and elsewhere.

³ P 84

Master. So it is the surest way. And (as I see cause) I will still declare things unto you so plainly, that you shall not need to doubt. Howbeit, if I doe overpasse it sometimes (as the maner of men is to forget the small knowledge of them to whom they speake:) then doe you put me in remembrance your selfe, and that way is surest."

The student is to master each step in the exposition before proceeding. The Scholar himself, under the marginal heading "A good lesson," points out the wisdom of this method of study:

If I shoulde not remembre theim [the circles of the sphere], I dydde but leese my laboure, and occasion you to spend your tyme in vaine: for I know that in this science and in all other, he that coveteth to runne styll forwarde, and remembreth not that, that is gone before, shall never attaine that which remaineth behynde, but while he deliteth to muche to see the end, he deceaveth him selfe of the frutefull ende of knowledge, muche lyke a man that is delited in hearing a cunning song of musyke, but when it is done, doth remembre nothing of it, so is his profite and pleasure bothe ended, when the song is ended. Therfore (if it please you) I will repeate the chieffe pointes that I have learned sythe my former repetition.²

In these repetitions the Master has the Scholar review and summarize what he has studied, for the purpose of making this knowledge a part of the student's own understanding — one of the essentials of good teaching. In a very significant passage the Scholar discusses the extent to which things learned in childhood become part of our knowledge, and how they tend to slip away from us as we grow older.

Nowe I see (as I have had at other tymes often occasion) that we learn many things when we be children, which we understande not all when we bee menne, for by this talke I remember that both in Ovide and Vergile I learned the distinction of those 5. Zones, but what was to be understande by them, I never knewe till now.³

Recorde does not believe in learning by rote. In the Grounde of Artes he says:

... you must proove your selfe to doe some things without any aide, or else you shall not be able to do any more than you were taught: And that were rather to learne by rote (as they call it) than by reason.

² Pp. 78-79.
³ *Ibid.*, pp. 64-65.

² Castle of Knowledge, pp. 33-34.

⁴ Pp. 92-93.

As can be seen from some of the preceding quotations, a delightful feature of these books is the way in which Recorde can put himself in the position of the student. The dialogue between the Master and Scholar reveals the play of ideas between the trained expert and a serious, rather brilliant pupil. In the *Grounde of Artes* Recorde gives his reasons for using the dialogue method: "I have written in the forme of a Dialogue, because I judge that to be the easiest way of instruction, when the Scholar may aske every doubt orderly, and the master may answere to his question plainely."

Recorde's Grounde of Artes, Castle, and Whetstone of Witte are all in dialogue. He handles the conversation with the touch of an artist, and one is conscious of two different people talking. The Scholar sometimes makes mistakes, and in one passage (important for its early reference to the Copernican theory) the Master rebukes him for his hasty judgment. After a discussion of various opinions of the stability of the earth in the center of the universe, the Master concludes:

... Copernicus a man of greate learninge, of muche experience, and of wondrefull diligence in observation, hathe renewed the opinion of Aristarchus Samius, and affirmeth that the earthe not only moveth circularlye about his owne centre, but also may be, yea and is, continually out of the precise centre of the world 38 hundreth thousand miles: but bicause the understanding of that controversy dependeth of profounder knowledg then in this Introduction may be uttered conveniently, I will let it passe tyll some other time.

Scholar. Nay syr in good faith, I desire not to heare such vaine phantasies, so farre againste common reason, and repugnante to the consente of all the learned multitude of Wryters, and therefore lette it passe for ever, and a daye longer.

Master. You are to yonge to be a good judge in so great a matter: it passeth farre your learninge, and theirs also that are muche better learned then you, to improve his supposition by good argumentes, and therefore you were best to condemne no thinge that you do not well understand: but an other time, as I sayd, I will so declare his supposition, that you shall not only wonder to hear it, but also peradventure be as earnest then to credite it, as you are now to condemne it.²

¹ Sig. B 3^r.

² P. 165.

In many places he introduces dramatic touches, as when the Scholar, in the Castle, stands before the Master's house and is hesitant about disturbing him, or when, at the conclusion of the Whetstone, a messenger, heard knocking at the door, enters and whispers bad news in the ear of the Master, who then says: "Yea sir is that the mater? Then is there noe remedie, but that I must neglect all studies, and teaching, for to withstande those daungers. My fortune is not so good, to have quiete tyme to teache." Throughout, Recorde shows imagination and an artistic sense — valuable qualities in a teacher.

In all of his works Recorde makes use of visual and manual aids to teaching, emphasizing that some "thynges are better taught by hande, then by mouthe," and that "many thynges in the makinge, and in the use also of instrumentes, are better perceaved by a lyttle sighte, then by many woordes." In the *Castle* he has the Scholar make his own

sphere,

... bycause that a materiall instrument is a great helpe for them that begin to travaile in this arte, and dothe as an image represent to the eies those things, which by only hearing, were very hard to conceave, besides many other commodities, whiche shall be uttered in their place, I think it moste convenient order, fyrst to teache you the manner howe to make suche a materiall sphere, as may serve both to learne by, and also to worke by, in practising the observations needefull to this arte.³

In the second book he gives a detailed practical account of the construction of a sphere, putting into practice many of the procedures acquired from the study of the *Pathway*.⁴

When the Scholar comes to learn the use of the sphere, he says:

All this seemeth easye to me, as longe as I beholde this materiall sphere: but when I doo not conferre it wyth your woordes, then your saynges appeare the more doubtefull.

Master. For that cause did I teache you the making of it, before I instructed you in the use of it, knowing how greate a helpe the sighte of the eye doth minister to the righte and speedye understandyng of that which the eare doth heare.⁵

¹ P. 97.

³ P. 34.

⁵ Castle, p. 66.

² Sig. Rr 4^r.

⁴ See above, p. 64.

After the Scholar has thoroughly grasped the fundamentals thus outlined, he is to supplement them by reading before going on to the proofs. At the end of the third treatise the Master says:

Therfore nowe shall you depart for a time, and you shall reade over againe your authors of the Sphere, whiche you did name before, and now marke whether you can understande them, and at your returne, I will instruct you more exactly in all the premisses, and other divers conclusions, whiche nowe I have omitted of purpose.

That Recorde is following the same method as that observed in the *Pathway* is made clear by the title of the fourth treatise, "wherein are the proofes of all that is taught before, and other divers notable conclusions annexed therto, but nothing in a manner with out demonstration and good proofe."

This section is the most important part of the book, for, with the background gained from study of the first three treatises, Recorde now explains in detail the essential principles of astronomy and cosmography, adding the proofs of his statements. The importance Recorde placed on this aspect of his teaching is shown by the fact that the fourth treatise constitutes two-thirds of the entire work.

The following passage, which occurs when the Scholar returns to report on his reading, exhibits Recorde's very sound attitude toward authority, and his estimate of the relative value, to a beginning student, of the writers mentioned:

Master. . . . but now to your matter: have you perused the authors of the Sphere which ar commonly readde?

Schollar. To reade them all, it were to muche for my lyfe tyme, and the profite not so greate, as I heare manye menne saye: for as the noumbre are infinite, so the later wryters doo moste commonlye but repete that, that twoo or three of the auncientes have written before. wherefore as I learned that the beste wryters of them for my studye, were Proclus, Ioannes de Sacro bosco, and Orontius the Frenche man, so I have readde them, and out of them have I collected a table of theyr moste notable matters, whyche as yet I understande not, or els doo desyre to heare the demonstrations for their proofe.

Master. You have doone well in bothe pointes, for as the numbre of writers are infinite, so have I founde great tedious payne in readinge a greate

multitude of them. Notwithstandyng as you shall hereafter seeke further knowledge, so muste you reade more wryters in that matter: wherefore amongest a greate noumbre woorthye the readinge, I wyll name a fewe unto you, whyche I wishe you to studye: and the resydue I leave to your owne discretion. Cleomedes the greeke authour, is very woorthye to bee often readde: but beste in hys owne tongue, for the latine booke is muche corrupted. Also Euclide his booke entituled Phænomena, and Stoffler his commentaries uppon Proclus Sphere: whyche booke I wishe were well recognised (as it hathe greate neede) then myghte it serve in steede of a greate numbre of other bookes. Dyvers Englyshe menne have written right well in that argument; as Grostehed, Michell Scotte, Batecombe, Baconthorpe and other dyvers, but fewe of their bookes are printed as yet, therefore I will staye at those three for this tyme. As for Plinye, Hyginius, Aratus, and a greate manye other, are to bee readde onlye of masters in suche arte, that can judge the chaffe from the corne. and Ptolemye that worthye writer and myracle in nature, is to harde for younge schollars, except they be fyrste instructed not onlye in the principles of the Sphere, but also well traded in Euclides his Geometrye, and also well exercised in the Theorykes of the Planetes. But nowe let me see the table that you have collected.

The Scholar then presents a list of twenty-five topics that have puzzled him and which he desires to have made clear, stating:

These be the titles of such matters as I have noted in them moste meete for this tyme, syth manye other thynges are sufficiently taughte in the former treatises, and some other thynges, namely in Orontius booke, appertaine to Cosmographye, whiche I perceave by your sayinges, you mynde to reserve for a peculiar treatise of that matter, and therfore I have omitted them here.

Master. So myghte you have doone some other thynges also, whiche you have noted here: howe be it I will use my libertye therin, to expresse in convenient largenes those thinges, that be meet for this place, and the rest will I touch with as conveniente briefnes: referringe the other to theyr more conveniente places.

Schollar. Syr I know right well, that your judgement is as well to be followed in the ordre of teaching, and choise of matter, as it is to be esteemed in the teaching and explication of all doubteful cases.

Master. In ordre of teaching is more credit to be gyven to a master, then in affirming of anye doctrine: for the ordre is by longe experience best knowen

of such men: but for affirming of any doubtefull doctrine, no man ought to saye any more then he can shewe good reason, for thapprovyng of the same.

In this passage the two most important characteristics of Recorde's teaching are clearly illustrated: his insistence upon order and method, and his wide knowledge and profound criticism and evaluation of all the existing authorities on the sciences. Historians would agree perfectly with Recorde's estimates of the relative value of the works he mentions. For example, his comments on Proclus (whose book on the sphere, with Stoffler's commentary, he asserts, would be very useful if well revised), and his strictures against the reliability of Pliny, are worthy of special notice. In this connection, a later passage, in which he praises Ptolemy but cautions the Scholar against accepting his or any other man's assertions without firm proof, is particularly significant. The dialogue reads:

Scholar. . . . I heare all learned men say, Ptolemye is the father of that arte, and proveth all his woordes by stronge and invincible reasons.

Master. No man can worthely praise Ptolemye, his travell being so great, his diligence so exacte in observations, and conference with all nations, and all ages, and his reasonable examination of all opinions, with demonstrable confirmation of his owne assertion, yet muste you and all men take heed, that both in him and in al mennes workes, you be not abused by their autoritye, but evermore attend to their reasons, and examine them well, ever regarding more what is saide, and how it is proved, then who saieth it: for autoritie often times deceaveth many menne, as here by and by in Cleomedes it shall appeare.²

In order to stress the pitfalls of inadequate knowledge and faulty conclusions, Recorde has the Master deliberately lead the Scholar into making a false assumption and then severely criticizes him for it, observing:

Often have I readde in Galene, and more often have I seen it by experience, that better it is for men to want all arte of reasoninge cleane, then to have suche confidence in a meane knowledg therof, that may occasion them to deceave them selfe, and to seduce other. You are fully perswaded that

¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-101.

² Ibid., pp. 126-27 [misprinted 129].

this argument is good: whereby it appeareth that you espied not the want of that meane proposition, whiche should make the argument good.

After the Master has outlined the additional reading for the student, he takes up the table of twenty-five difficult questions, which the Scholar has compiled and presented to him. One advantage of having the student make up his own list is that, by pondering over the topics, they become, to some extent, a part of his own consciousness.

However, when the Master comes to consider the various items, he

does not follow the same order as the student's:

And now to your matter. although you folow the ordre of Ioannes de Sacro bosco in many of your propositions, yet will I beginne with your thirde proposition, and referre the twoo firste to a more meete place, sythe the proofe of them can not well bee understande, withoute a great numbre of other conclusions, which must fyrst be proved. And for to begin with the declaration of the roundnes of the skye, and his circulare motion, I thynke it good to folowe that ordre whiche movyd men fyrste to observe this kinde of arte.²

Adhering to this "natural" order, he proceeds in a logical way to explain in considerable detail the various theories of the universe, the positions of the earth, the planets, and the constellations, and the application of astronomical observations to cosmography and ge-

ography.

Here again is seen the advantage of the dialogue method, for frequently the Scholar asks questions or desires fuller explanations. In one instance he says he could better understand a certain example if he knew the places mentioned. Therefore the Master restates the problem, using English towns instead of Greek and Egyptian. Generally, the practical applications are given. Problems are put to the Scholar, which he solves, doing the calculations himself, so, as the Master points out, "you myghte understande the ordre of suche sorte of woorkynge, and therby learne to trye your authors sayinges."

His general practice of leaving proofs until the last is also followed in his discussions of individual topics. Thus, in explaining the ascen-

sions of the stars, he says:

² *Ibid.*, p. 101.

¹ Ibid., pp. 127 [misprinted 129]-28.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

To the intente that I maye alleage nothinge, but that which shall not only be certaine and true, but also shall be manifest to you, I will firste instructe you in the understanding of those Ascensions, and after that I will return to the proof of these my woordes.^x

At the end the Scholar is still anxious for more knowledge of these subjects, and Recorde indicates that he intends to write further on them, and that in such works he will follow the same method of teaching:

Scholar. In deede I thinke this [the motions of the planets, with their eccentrics, equants, deferents, and epicycles] to harde yet, but the progression, retrogradation, and station of the Planetes, and also of the eclipses of the Sonne and Moone, I knowe that John de sacro Bosco dyd write somewhat, and so myght you brieflye nowe do.

Master. His woordes are shorte and therefore obscure, and so should my wordes be. beside that, it is a disordrely forme to put the carte before the horse: I meane to write of the passions of the Planets, before I have sufficiently taught the full ordre of their motion. Therefore I will saye in fewe wordes, that the reasons of the passions canne not bee taughte aptely, before the Theorikes of theyr motions.²

Up to this point we have endeavored merely to describe in detail Recorde's ideas concerning the proper methods of teaching the mathematical sciences, and the practice which he followed in his own textbooks. So far as possible, we have allowed Recorde to speak for himself, by quoting liberally from his writings. We now turn to the broader aspects of his work, in order to point out its relation to certain important movements in sixteenth-century thought. Some of these significant relationships have no doubt already suggested themselves to the reader, as a result of Recorde's own clear statements of his purposes. On the one hand, his system of teaching was in striking accord with the ideas underlying most of the advanced pedagogical thought of the time, as exemplified in the writings of such men as Vives, Joannes Sturmius, and Peter Ramus. On the other hand, Recorde's consistent opposition to the blind acceptance of ancient authorities,

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

² Ibid., pp. 279-80.

including Aristotle, and his appeal to reason and observation as surer guides, give him an important place in the anti-Aristotelian movement

in English science.

The reform of the educational system inherited from medieval scholasticism was a cause that engaged many of the ablest minds in sixteenth-century Europe. Vives, Erasmus, Sturmius, Melanchthon, Ramus, and, in England, Colet, Cheke, and Ascham, were among the leaders in this movement. Robert Recorde, also, deserves a prominent place in the English section of this list, because of his improved methods of instruction in the mathematical sciences. Except for him, only Peter Ramus, among the eminent scholars just mentioned, went beyond the subjects of the trivium and attempted a thoroughgoing revision of the quadrivial subjects; and this part of Ramus' work came

several years after Recorde's books had been published.

The primary aim of all these educational reformers was to simplify the existing system of instruction, in order to shorten the time a student had to spend on a subject before he could begin to put his knowledge into practice. To this end, certain rearrangements of the course were proposed, and new methods of teaching were advocated. Though the proposals of the various scholars differed in details, they agreed in their main purpose of improving the material studied, and of rendering the manner of acquisition easier and more interesting by deducing general principles from the study of actual works as against memorizing abstract rules imperfectly understood. These scholars all opposed the procedure that tended to make the disputation the sole objective of university training. In its place, they constantly stressed practical application and utility as more desirable goals of education. Thus, in their revision of the method and content of the trivium, they tended to give less space to purely theoretical explanations, and to put the emphasis on real practice, using for this purpose examples from the classical authors.

Peter Ramus was the one who developed this general position most clearly and systematically, and who, at the same time, was the most radical critic of the existing order in the Schools. As a result, he became the most notorious opponent of Aristotelianism and scholastic methodology, so that in the late sixteenth century the term "Ramists" was used to designate the anti-Aristotelian party in the various

universities of Europe. Ramus had first attracted attention in 1536, by defending, in his master's examination at the University of Paris, the sensational thesis, "All that Aristotle has said is false." His influence spread with the publication, in 1543, of his two Latin books on logic: his Dialecticae institutiones and his Aristotelicae animadversiones. The reform of logic was the first great task to which he dedicated himself, and the one that he always considered paramount in his own estimate of his work. Essentially, his revision of logic was achieved by means of an uncompromising application to this subject of the principles already outlined as lying at the base of the advanced pedagogical theories of the Renaissance. While incorporating some ideas taken from Quintilian, most of his material came from Aristotle's own works on dialectic and rhetoric. This material, however, was greatly condensed and simplified, and completely rearranged, to make it less abstract and theoretical and to enable it to become a more immediately useful tool for achieving clarity in thought and exposition.2

Between 1543 and his death in 1572, Ramus wrote some sixty books, defending his position against the attacks of the Aristotelians, and applying his principles in commentaries on classical authors or in treatises on the various liberal arts. This latter class of works was by far the more important. They consisted of a series of elementary textbooks on the subjects constituting the trivium and the quadrivium, in which Ramus designedly set out to revise the entire university curriculum in accordance with his ideas.³

¹ For fuller accounts of Ramus' life and work, see: Charles Waddington, Ramus: Sa vie, ses écrits et ses opinions (Paris, 1855), and F. P. Graves, Peter Ramus and the Educational Reformation of the Sixteenth Century (New York, 1912). The present brief sketch is based on these two works.

² Ramus transferred to logic much of the material that Aristotle had taken up under rhetoric, including the names for his two divisions of logic, "inventio" and "dispositio," which were among the traditional five branches of rhetoric.

3 The important works that Ramus published on mathematical subjects are: Arithmeticae libri tres (1555); Scholarum physicarum libri octo (1565); Provemium mathematicum (1567); Geometriae libri septem et viginti (1569); Scholae in liberales artes (1569), which included treatises on grammar, rhetoric, dialectic, physics, and metaphysics (the treatise on mathematics being printed as a separate volume); Scholarum mathematicarum (1569), which contained the Provemium mathematicum, the arithmetic, and a commentary on the first fifteen books of Euclid; and Arithmeticae libri duo, et Algebrae totidem, a Lazaro Schonero emendati et explicati (printed posthumously in 1586). In addition, Ramus had published early in his career a translation into Latin of the first six books of Euclid. This translation, issued in

It is in the part of Ramus' work having to do with the mathematical sciences of the quadrivium, that his resemblance to Recorde becomes most obvious and proves to be most significant. The ideas of the two men were strikingly similar with regard to the revisions that should be made in the aims and methods of teaching. Both put practical use ahead of abstract theory, and both placed great emphasis on the proper order in teaching and devised a definite methodology that they applied consistently in their writings. Finally, both set out from the first to embody their ideas and methods in a carefully planned series of elementary textbooks on the subjects in the curriculum they proposed. They commenced their work at about the same time, but Ramus started with the subjects making up the trivium, whereas Recorde from the beginning confined his attention to the mathematical sciences included in the quadrivium. Recorde, therefore, was the pioneer in taking up the advanced educational theories of the sixteenth century and applying them systematically in a series of textbooks on the mathematical sciences. Ramus was the only other advanced thinker of the age who attempted such a program for this field of learning. He did not, however, center his efforts on the subjects of the quadrivium until after 1559 (the year following Recorde's death), and most of his scientific works were published after 1565. Only two appeared earlier: his translation in 1544 of the enunciations of Euclid's propositions, and his short textbook of arithmetic in 1555. Recorde's arithmetic, on the other hand, was published earlier than Ramus' first books on logic, and thirteen years before Ramus' arithmetic. In general, Recorde's works preceded the corresponding ones by Ramus by from ten to fifteen years.

In view of this impressive similarity between the ideas and writings of Recorde and Ramus, the question of their possible influence on each other naturally presents itself. It is difficult, however, to arrive at any definite conclusion on this point. The echoes of Ramus' sensational attacks upon Aristotle, in his master's disputation, may well have reached Oxford and Cambridge, and Recorde may have heard of Ramus soon after 1536. Nevertheless, Recorde's general plan and

¹⁵⁴⁴ and again in 1549, included only the definitions and the enunciations of the propositions: all demonstrations and proofs were omitted.

method had been formulated, and his first book published, before any of Ramus' writings were in print, so that Recorde's methodology was almost certainly developed quite independently. There is no mention of Ramus in the latter's books. In 1551, in the preface to the Pathway to knowledg, Recorde defends his determination to print the enunciations of Euclid's theorems without the proofs, by stating that this had been done by both Boethius and Rheticus.2 Ramus had also followed this plan in his translation of Euclid in 1544, but Recorde makes no mention of him and apparently did not know this book, although he shows himself thoroughly familiar with the works of Orontius Finaeus, Ramus' mathematical teacher. It must be remembered, in this connection, that Ramus' position of influence did not become firmly established throughout Europe until the decade following the death of Recorde. Had the latter, during his lifetime, learned the details of Ramus' philosophy, he would have recognized that it sprang from the same sources and was following in much the same channels as his own.

It is not likely, on the other hand, that Ramus knew of Recorde's mathematical works, although the fact that his own books in this field followed a decade or more after Recorde's, and that he also used the device of classifying Euclid's propositions as "problems" and "theorems," might suggest this possibility. There is no evidence that Ramus had a knowledge of English, and all of Recorde's writings were in that language. What we have, apparently, in the case of the scientific textbooks of Ramus and Recorde, is the phenomenon of certain significant currents in sixteenth-century thought manifesting themselves quite independently in the work of two different men in two different countries.

The attempts, by Recorde, Ramus, and others, to revise the methods of teaching in the sixteenth century were closely connected with the general anti-Aristotelian movement. This was particularly true with reference to the scientific subjects. Before any progress could be made, the right of independent thought had to be established. This meant the liberty to criticize, and if need be to reject, the ideas of

¹ Quoted above, pp. 65-66.
² The translation of Euclid attributed to Boethius was included in most of the editions of

the latter's works from 1492 onwards; Rheticus' edition, in Greek and Latin, of the first six books, was printed at Leipzig in 1549.

Aristotle. Consequently, all original scientific thinkers of this period had to break with scholastic authority and join the camp of the anti-Aristotelians. Of the many attacks on Aristotle during the century, that of Ramus was by far the most violent and sweeping. Recorde, on the other hand, in common with most of the English scientists, maintained a much more judicial attitude towards Aristotle and other ancient writers. No one was more uncompromising in his opposition to accepting the statements of any ancient authority on the sciences until these statements had first been tested by personal observation and mathematical reasoning. At the same time, he believed in judging each case upon its own merits, and retaining only those ideas of the ancients which survived a critical re-examination. Recorde's constant reiteration of the necessity of personally verifying every statement before accepting it, no matter how many great names might be cited in its favor, has already been illustrated in the quotations from his works. Two more passages, selected from a multitude of similar ones, will serve to emphasize Recorde's precise position. In the first, the Master has just explained and criticized the definitions given by certain Greek writers for the Arctic and Antarctic Circles. These authors had defined the Arctic Circle as inclosing the stars that never set below the horizon, and the Antarctic Circle as encompassing those that never rose above the horizon, and at the same time had made the projections of these circles on the terrestrial globe the boundaries between the zones. When the Master points out that this is absurd, because it makes the boundaries between the zones vary with the latitude of the observer, these comments are introduced:

Scholar. ... Wherfore I mervaile muche that the Greekes beynge so wise men, and so greately learned, shuld be so muche overseen and so soroly deceaved: but peradventure ther are but few of that opinion, and such as were leaste learned.

Master. Parmenides, Aristotle, Cleomedes and Proclus may not be accompted unlearned, and yet they with manye other have written that as truth. But hereby may you perceave what folly it is, when men receave any doctrine as true, and do not well weigh it, but credite the authority of the first teacher. So it appeareth in this matter, that bicause Parmenides, whiche was a great Philosopher, had fyrst taught that distinction of the

zones, all the reste did folowe his opinion as a plausible doctrine, without examination of it, till Posidonius began to espye that errour and to confute it.

Again, in the *Grounde of Artes*, Recorde emphasizes the danger to all realms of thought resulting from unreasonable adherence to authority. His words, strikingly similar to those later used by Francis Bacon, are:

It is commonly seene that when men will receive things from elder writers, and will not examine the thing, they seeme rather willing to erre with their auncients for company, than to be bold to examine their workes or writings. Which scrupulositie hath ingendred infinit errors in all kinds of knowledge, and in all civill administration, and in every kinde of art.²

Recorde's attitude toward Aristotle was much sounder and more reasonable than that of Ramus and his followers, with their indiscriminate attacks on all the Aristotelian theories. For that very reason it appealed more strongly to the intelligence of the ablest scientific investigators of the time. The spirit of original thought and critical examination of old beliefs, which Recorde fostered among these men and among all Englishmen interested in science, destroyed Aristotelianism from within more rapidly than it could have been overthrown by an open assault. Recorde's position was the one adopted by all the leading scientific writers in England during the last half of the sixteenth century. Bacon, in the next century, was the first Englishman of note to return to the method of direct and sweeping onslaught, in the style of Ramus. Bacon had been a student at Cambridge when the Ramist philosophy was beginning to make important inroads there, and was greatly influenced by Ramism. During the four decades between his student days and the writing of his great works, he had failed to keep in close contact with the progress of English scientific thought, with the result that, when he launched his famous offensive against the fortress of Aristotelianism, that citadel had long since been abandoned by all scientists of any standing in England, and was held by only a handful of reactionaries in academic circles.

^{*} Castle of Knowledge, p. 171 [misprinted 178 in some copies].

² P. 342.

This undermining of the authority of Aristotle in all the mathematical sciences had been going on steadily in England ever since the time of Robert Recorde, and each English scientist had, in turn, contributed his share to the inevitable collapse of the entire structure. Recorde's part, however, stands out in special prominence because he was the first great teacher of the mathematical sciences. For a century after his death, numerous English scientists, especially those who had not studied at the universities, proclaimed that Recorde's books had been their first tutors in those sciences.

Because of the prominence which the Ramist movement attained in England from approximately 1575 onwards, it would be interesting to compare in detail the works of Ramus on the mathematical sciences with the corresponding earlier works by Recorde. That task, however, cannot be undertaken in the present article; 2 but a few general observations on that subject are necessary in order to complete our account of the relation of Recorde's work to Ramism and other prominent currents in sixteenth-century thought. Recorde was, by training and choice, primarily a mathematician and scientist. Ramus, on the contrary, was a logician, interested chiefly in the reform of dialectic. Only late in his career did he turn to the study of higher mathematics, in order to apply his new system of logic to the revision of its subject matter and method. First, however, he was forced to learn these sciences himself. He tells us that, before he turned his attention from dialectic to mathematics (about the year 1559), he had been unable to get beyond the tenth book of Euclid.3 The result was that, in his mathematical works, he was more interested in making the subject matter fit into his previously formulated system of logic than in devising the best method for presenting all phases of the material at hand. His textbooks consisted chiefly of the old material rearranged, rather than a critical revision of it in the light of the latest knowledge.

¹ For example, note the statement of John Mellis, who edited a revised edition of Recorde's Grounde of Artes in 1582 and again in 1590. He says (sig. A 2") in his dedicatory epistle: "I had no other instruction at my first beginning, but onely this good Authors booke." Later, while serving Robert Forth in Cambridge, he increased his knowledge by "going to the Arithmeticke Lecture, at the common Schoole."

² One of the present writers (Mr. Johnson) plans later to publish a comparative study of the scientific textbooks of Ramus and Recorde, and their relative influence in England.

³ Oratio de professione liberalium artium (1563); quoted by F. P. Graves, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

Recorde's books, on the other hand, having been written by a scholar with a profounder acquaintance with the mathematical sciences, gave a more thorough and better rounded presentation of each subject treated. It is noteworthy that Ramus' textbooks had little success in England, although Ramism, after 1575, obtained a strong hold at Cambridge and elsewhere, especially among those already interested in the natural sciences. Recorde's work had probably done much to prepare the ground for the spread of Ramism, and his books held their own throughout the period when the Ramist party had its greatest influence. A few of the English mathematicians who had studied at Cambridge during the seventies and eighties later tried to introduce Ramus' works in their teaching, and translated both his arithmetic and his geometry into English. These books made little progress, however, in competition with the abler and more popular works of

Recorde, and none of them saw a second edition.

On the Continent the scientific writings of Ramus escaped the rivalry of those of Recorde. Ramus had written in Latin; hence his books were known, and exerted an important influence in academic circles, in several different countries. Recorde, on the other hand, in conformity with the strong vernacular tradition among sixteenthcentury English scientists, wrote exclusively in his native tongue. Consequently, his books were not known elsewhere in Europe; but in England they were able to reach a wide audience, and their influence was by no means confined to the academic world. Much of the most significant mathematical teaching of this period was done entirely outside the schools and universities, the students coming from among the tradesmen, skilled artisans, and mechanics. These classes were interested in the everyday uses of mathematics. Instead of learning a few rules and constructions by rote, however, they were fortunate enough to have Recorde's excellent textbooks, which introduced them to the basic principles as well as to the immediate applications of the mathematical sciences.

The arithmetic was translated by William Kempe, the author of The Education of children in learning, under the title, The art of arithmeticke in whole numbers and fractions (1592). The geometry was translated by Thomas Hood in 1590, under the title, The elementes of geometrie. Another geometry, based upon Ramus but greatly augmented, was published by William Bedwell in 1636, under the title, Via regia ad geometriam.

Augustus De Morgan long ago called attention to the marked superiority of the English in practical mathematics during the sixteenth century. Not only was the interest in mathematics more widespread and the mastery of the fundamentals more certain, but the average standard of achievement set for students by the popular textbooks in the vernacular was far higher. The great value placed upon applied mathematics by the Elizabethan middle class is one of the most significant characteristics of the age. Both the keen interest in the mathematical sciences, and the excellence that nonacademic workers attained therein, are to be traced directly to the high quality of the early teaching that they received in those branches of knowledge. Robert Recorde's textbooks were the chief factors in determining the character of this instruction. Not only were they the first important books in English on the mathematical sciences, continuing in use for more than a century, but later Elizabethan writers of popular works on those subjects all acknowledged their debt to Recorde. The most influential of Recorde's followers in this field were Leonard and Thomas Digges, Humphrey Baker, William Bourne, and Thomas Blundeville.2 Without exception, they adopted the same general aims as Recorde, together with the essential features of his method. Thomas Digges, for example, in his translation of Book I of the De revolutionibus in 1576, rearranged Copernicus' material, placing first the exposition of the main features of the new heliocentric system and deferring until later the arguments of its opponents and Copernicus' refutation of them.3

The size and superiority of the school of practical mathematical scientists in England can therefore be attributed to the movement initiated by Robert Recorde, and the points in which the English ex-

¹ Arithmetical Books (London, 1847), pp. xx-xxii. See also De Morgan's article, "English Mathematical and Astronomical Writers," Companion to the British Almanac (London, 1837).

² Of this group, Baker and Bourne were self-educated mathematicians, who had not attended the universities. Many of the lesser writers were likewise self-educated.

³ A Perfit Description of the Caelestiall Orbes, first printed as an appendix to his father's (Leonard Digges') Prognostication everlastinge, in the edition of 1576, and reprinted seven times by 1605. See the present authors' article, "Thomas Digges, the Copernican System, and the Idea of the Infinity of the Universe in 1576," The Huntington Library Bulletin, No. 5 (April, 1934), pp. 69-117, which contains a reprint of Thomas Digges's treatise.

celled correspond to the most significant features of his system of teaching. These English scientists consistently avoided mere abstract theory on the one hand, and a narrow, unintelligent empiricism on the other. Instead, their constant goal was to combine a firm mastery of elementary principles with the practical application of those principles to useful works. Along with this, they cultivated a skeptical attitude towards ancient authorities, demanding that their statements be tested by reason and observation before acceptance. These qualities provided the solid foundation essential to future progress in the natural sciences, and Recorde, for his important part in furthering this development, deserves a prominent place in the history of science in England.



Penelope Devereux as Sidney's Stella

By HOYT H. HUDSON

N THE Correspondence of the Times Literary Supplement, September 20, 1928, Mr. J. Brownbill offered the following bit of literary history:

About the middle of last century the critics of Sidney's book of sonnets, "Astrophel and Stella," made up a love story for him, he being the Astrophel (which need not be questioned) and Stella being Penelope Devereux, who became wife of Lord Rich, and then (illegally) of Charles Blount, Earl of Devonshire.

In the spirit of this sentence, Professor James M. Purcell has prepared and published such a survey of the evidence ¹ as led him to deny that any connection, either amatory or literary, could be established between Sir Philip and Penelope. The fact that such positions as Mr. Brownbill's and Mr. Purcell's (and that of at least one reviewer of Mr. Purcell's book ²) could be stated and supported must mean that Sidney's biographers have not been sufficiently explicit in giving evidence for the identification of Stella as Penelope. The following account of this identification is not intended as an answer to Mr. Purcell's book, but as an examination of one part of the whole problem.

¹ Sidney's Stella (New York: Oxford University Press, 1934). After writing the present article I learned that Mr. Purcell is withdrawing the book, with the intention of revising it. References to it have been retained here for the sake of readers who obtained it and as a possible aid in its revision.

² New York Times Book Review, September 16, 1934: "This study proves that Penelope Devereux was not the Stella of Sidney's famous sonnets. And thus another literary myth is exploded..." Literary Supplement of the London Times, November 29, 1934: "Mr. Purcell's learning and precision may be found to have deprived Stella of much of her actuality and Penelope Devereux of her claim; ..." This last statement, like most of the review, seems to be ironical. But in the course of his irony the reviewer adopts two of Mr. Purcell's errors ("the two 'Rich' sonnets," "Florio's sonnet") and thus aids in spreading misinformation about the subject discussed. Professor James Holly Hanford, reviewing the book in Modern Philology, XXXII (1934), 207-9, accepted none of its conclusions, but did not point out the evidence omitted by Mr. Purcell.

I do not wish to consider, for instance, the question when Sidney's sonnets were written, or the question whether Sidney was actually in love with the lady addressed as Stella, or with any lady, when he wrote his poems. I will confine myself to the question, Was it thought by intelligent readers of Astrophel and Stella, and by Sidney's own family and friends, that Stella was Penelope, Lady Rich? The evidence demands an affirmative answer. Incidentally, I shall have to present some proof that the readers to whom I refer had ground for

the identification they made; with this I begin.

It was not a critic living in the nineteenth century, but Walter Devereux, Earl of Essex, and father of Penelope, who first "made up a love story" for her and Sidney. The record is in a manuscript account of the death of the Earl (which occurred in Ireland on September 22, 1576), first printed by Thomas Hearne in his Editoris Praefatio before his edition (1717) of Camden's Annales. Hearne says that he copied the account from a manuscript in possession of John Bridges, the Northamptonshire topographer and antiquary, a member of the Royal Society. The story of Devereux's death is there set down in great detail, presumably by Edward Waterhouse, his secretary. The most pertinent passage follows:

of "I call him sonne."

Thus much may be said: those who argue that Sidney's sonnets are literary exercises, based upon no real love-affair, never seem sufficiently to take into account: (1) that Astrophel and Stella is not properly to be lumped with the sonnet-sequences of the 1590's when one makes generalizations about the fad of sonnet-writing, for Sidney's were written much earlier and at a time when there was no fad, whereas the poets of the 1590's used his work as a source and as a model; that (2) it seems improbable that Sidney should not have fallen in love with someone in the years from 1573, when he was nineteen years old, and 1582, when he contracted to marry Frances Walsingham; and that (3) conventional expression may be the vehicle of genuine passion, and, in fact, in some societies it is the very usual vehicle thereof (I suppose anyone will grant that a lacy valentine, bearing a conventional printed sentiment, may be given to the object of one's real affections). As a fourth observation I would point out that those who list Petrarchan echoes in Astrophel and Stella usually fail to specify the non-Petrarchan material as fully, or to study the revealing details wherein Sidney has varied from his models.

^a I have not learned whether this manuscript remains among those of Bridges' ownership now in the Bodleian Library. A complete copy of this account is also in Ellesmere MS 34/C/5, in the Huntington Library. This is a sixteenth-century manuscript, some of whose entries seem to be earlier than 1576. On folio 41^v occurs the passage here quoted from Hearne. Aside from variations in spelling, it may be noted that the Ellesmere manuscript reads "that yong gentleman sayd he," instead of "that good gentleman," and "I will call hym sonn" instead

... The same daie talkinge of manye of his Frendes he spake of Mr. Phillipp Sidney. O that good gentleman have me comended unto him, and tell him I sende him nothinge, but I wishe him well, and so well that if God so move both theire hartes I wyshe that he might matche with my Daughter. I call him sonne, so wyse, vertuous and godlye, ... ¹

That events had moved in the direction Devereux had hoped is indicated by a passage in a letter from Edward Waterhouse to Sir Henry Sidney, dated November 14, 1576:

And all thes Lords that wishe well to the Children, and, I suppose, all the best Sort of the *Englishe* Lords besides, doe expect what will become of the Treaty betwene Mr. *Phillip*, and my Lady *Penelope*. Truly, my Lord, I must saie to your Lordship, as I have said to my Lord of *Lecester*, and Mr. *Phillip*, the Breaking of from this Match, if the Default be on your Parts, will turne to more Dishonour, then can be repaired with eny other Mariage in *England*.²

The earliest possible evidence of Penelope as Stella will be looked for in the sequence itself. Here there are three sonnets that introduce the word "rich" in a way that has always seemed equivocal to readers. In Sonnet 37, omitted from the three editions of 1591 but printed in the first folio edition of Sidney's works (1598), the poet says that he "must a riddle tell." Then he goes on:

Toward Auroras Court a Nymph doth dwell,
Rich in all beauties which mans eye can see:
Beauties so farre from reach of words, that we
Abase her praise, saying she doth excell:
Rich in the treasure of deseru'd renowne,
Rich in the riches of a royall hart,
Rich in those gifts which giue th'eternall crowne;
Who though most rich in these and euerie part,
Which make the patents of true worldly blisse,
Hath no misfortune, but that Rich she is.

Mr. Purcell discussed this sonnet briefly, but failed to mention that the poet says he is telling a riddle — and hence there is presumably an answer. He also failed to point out that the poet says that the nymph

Hearne, op. cit., p. xciii. Omitted from Sidney's Stella.

² This letter is among the Sidney papers first printed, under the editorship of Arthur Collins, in *Letters and Memorials of State* (1746), I (second part), 147.

of whom he writes dwells "Toward Auroras Court" — a fact which a noble or gentle reader of the time could have connected with the other fact that Lady Rich lived at Leighs in Essex, near the east coast of England; and finally he omitted to state that in the 1598 edition of Sidney's works (and in the many seventeenth-century editions based upon it) the name "Rich" is capitalized in the last line. Capitalization of common nouns is fairly sparing in the 1598 edition, while capitalization of an adjective is infrequent indeed. It may be noted also that to work the answer to an enigma into the last line of it was practiced elsewhere."

The other well-known sonnet (24), beginning "Rich fooles there be," Mr. Purcell said is merely an exercise upon a stock theme, "the denunciation of the 'rich' and especially of the 'rich' who cannot recognize the excellence of virtue." If this sonnet were offered as the only evidence in existence for connecting Stella with Lady Rich, that interpretation might be possible. But Sonnet 35 was overlooked entirely by Mr. Purcell. In this, the poet is telling of Stella's triumphs: she has conquered Reason; she has made Cupid a sworn page to chastity; she has made Honor her slave, and thereby honored him; "and

now," he says,

long needy Fame Doth euen grow rich, naming my *Stellas* name.

Such is the text of 1598. In the three editions of 1591, the reading of the last phrase quoted is, "meaning my Stellas name." Either seems fairly explicit. But we are not through with Sidney's puns. In Rawlinson Poet. MS 85 stands a copy of a love-poem signed "S. P. S." One distich runs:

For thoughe she be riche and fayre Yet she is bothe wise and kynde.

Again we may say that if there were no other evidence in existence for Lady Rich as the object of Sidney's affection, this would be valueless. But it is a little extraordinary for a lover to celebrate the fact that his beloved is rich; and, at worst, this line adds to what must seem an

¹ See James I's enigma upon sleep, New Poems by James I of England, ed. Allan F. Westcott (New York, 1911), pp. 32-33.

embarrassing number of coincidences to anyone who would question

the Stella-Penelope identification.

These coincidences begin multiplying immediately after the publication of the sonnets. In the same year (1591), John Harington issued his translation of *Orlando Furioso*, where, among the notes to Book XVI, we find this passage:

... To which purpose all that have written of this common place of love, and chiefly *Petrarke* in his infinite sonets, in the midst of all his lamentation, still had this comfort, that his love was placed on a worthie Ladie: and our English *Petrarke*, *Sir Philip Sidney*, or (as *Sir Walter Raulegh* in his Epitaph worthely calleth him) the *Scipio* and the *Petrarke* of our time, often comforteth him selfe in his sonets of *Stella*, though dispairing to attaine his desire, and (though that tyrant honor still refused) yet the nobilitie, the beautie, the worth, the graciousnesse, and those her other perfections, as made him both count her, and call her inestimably rich, makes him in the midst of those his mones, reioyce even in his owne greatest losses,

Harington was an epigrammatist and knew how to introduce a pun subtly. Who can doubt that in this passage, which comes to a climax in the word "rich," he is apprising the informed world that he is in on the secret? And, interestingly enough, in the very next tribute to Sidney that mentions Stella, the word turns up again. This is in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), where the first poem is "An Elegie, or friends passion, for his Astrophill," usually attributed to Matthew Roydon. One stanza follows:

Stella, a Nymph within this wood, Most rare and rich of heauenly blis, The highest in his fancie stood, And she could well demerite this, Tis likely they acquainted soone, He was a Sun, and she a Moone.²

In 1594 appeared Richard Barnfield's The Affectionate Shepheard (published anonymously), dedicated in two glowing stanzas of praise

1 Omitted from Sidney's Stella.

² Omitted from Sidney's Stella. In The Phoenix Nest, Roydon's elegy is followed by the one attributed to Sir Walter Ralegh and that attributed to Fulke Greville. These do not mention Stella at all, or even allude to Sidney's writings — except for Ralegh's calling Sidney "Cicero and Petrarch of our time." All three of these elegies were reprinted in Spenser's Colin Clouts Come Home Againe (1595), for which see below, pp. 118-22.

"To the Right Excellent and Most Beautifull Lady, the Ladie Penelope Ritch." The title-poem in this collection is an expression of the love felt by the shepherd Daphnis (who speaks in the first person, and who subscribes himself to the dedication) for the shepherd Ganymede. Ganymede, however, loves and is loved by the beautiful Guendolena; she, in turn, is loved by an old "doting foole," not named; but she also mourns for "a lustie youth, That now was dead . . . that faire and beautifull young man, Whom Guendolena so lamented for." Mr. Purcell devoted some space 2 to refuting the suggestion that Barnfield here shadowed forth the relations of Lady Rich (Guendolena), Lord Mountjoy (Ganymede), Lord Rich (the old man), and Sidney (the dead youth). The fact is that the major part of the poem is taken up with the plea of Daphnis (who is entirely outside of this framework) to Ganymede. We cannot settle whether or how far Barnfield intended the sketch of the four characters to be read as a personal allegory,3 though the omission of the author's name from the title-page arouses one's suspicions. But in arguing the point, Mr. Purcell omitted consideration of two pertinent facts. First, whatever Barnfield intended, readers put some construction upon his work which caused discussion and scandal; we know this because in his next book, Cynthia (1595), the poet, under his own name, had to tell his "curteous Gentlemen Readers" that they had misinterpreted The Affectionate Shepheard and that he had intended only a story of homosexual love, based upon the second ecloque of Virgil. His words follow:

... Some there were, that did interpret *The affectionate Shepheard*, otherwise then (in truth) I ment, touching the subject thereof: to wit, the loue of a Shepheard to a boy; a fault, the which I will not excuse, because I neuer made. Onely this, I will vnshaddow my conceipt: being nothing else, but an imitation of *Virgill*, in yo second Eglogue of *Alexis*.

Second, in this volume dedicated to Lady Rich, the second poem, "The Shepheards Content, . . . Written upon Occasion of the Former

¹ All quotations are from the reprint edited by J. O. Halliwell for the Percy Society, 1845; I have not seen the original volume. This reprint omits one poem.

² Pp. 62–64.

³ For a similar work, see John Dickenson's *The Shepheardes Complaint* [1596?], an imitation of the *Arcadia*, introducing a lament for the dead Sidney, and perhaps capable of interpretation as a personal allegory, though very obscure.

Subject," pays a tribute to Sidney and makes an allusion to Astrophel. The first comes when Barnfield is running over the cares that afflict all ways of life:

Thus everie man is troubled with unrest,
From rich to poore, from high to low degree:
Therefore I thinke that man is truly blest,
That neither cares for wealth nor povertie,
But laughs at Fortune, and her foolerie,
That gives rich churles ¹ great store of golde and fee,
And lets poore schollers live in miserie.

O, fading branches of decaying bayes,
Who now will water your dry-wither'd armes?
Or where is he that sung the lovely layes
Of simple shepheards in their countrey-farmes?
Ah! he is dead, the cause of all our harmes:
And with him dide my joy and sweete delight;
The cleare to clowdes, the day is turnd to night.

Sydney, the syren of this latter age;
Sydney, the blasing-starre of England's glory;
Sydney, the wonder of the wise and sage;
Sydney, the subject of true vertues story:
This syren, starre, this wonder, and this subject,
Is dumbe, dim, gone, and mard by fortune's object.

Later in the same poem Barnfield introduces the theme of love:

. . . O! who can vanquish Love? That conquers kingdomes, and the gods above.

If thou kilst where thou wilt, and whom it list thee, Alas! how can a silly soule resist thee?

By thee great Collin lost his libertie, By thee sweet Astrophel forwent his joy.

Thus we have, in *The Affectionate Shepheard*, the association of Lady Rich's name with tributes to Sidney, and with tributes to him not only as hero but also as Astrophel.

I am not insisting upon the phrase "rich churles"; still, there it is. Cf. Sidney's sonnet (24), "Rich fooles there be, whose base and filthy hart."

In 1591 Penelope's brother, Walter Devereux, had been killed in a skirmish before Rouen. Madame Genevieve Petau de Maulette, a Frenchwoman living in England, wrote an extended elegy upon him (coupling him in her remembrance with King Henry III of France), which was translated by Gervase Markham and published in 1597 as Deuoreux. Vertues teares for the losse of ... King Henry, ... and the vntimely death, of ... Walter Deuoreux. Markham addresses his work to the two sisters of the slain youth, Dorothy, Countess of Northumberland, and Lady Penelope Rich, saying, in his dedicatory epistle:

It was when I received it, exceeding rich in French imbroderie, and if nowe, either by my want or dulnes, it seeme patch'd, or too homely: with the beames of your gracious eyes, (most rare creatures) shine vpon it, and then the worst of my penns earthines doubtlesse shall be stellified.²

In Stanza 16 of the poem Markham begins an apostrophe to the sisters, who are named in the margin. Stanza 17 finds him in the midst of it:

You, Sisters both in nature and admire,
The golden typ of euery praysing tonge,
That make one Ile boue all the world aspire.
(O thinke not Fraunce this furie doth thee wrong,
For who that speakes, speakes not with double fire
If but one thought of them glaunce in his song?
Then pardon mine inuoke, and let me ring
Iustly on them that teach all Swannes to sing.)

Having thus celebrated the poem-inspiring powers of the two sisters, he addresses them separately in Stanza 18:

Heare mee, ô holy ones, and helpe my stile, Glorious adopted fayre Northumberland, And thou rich Rich, richest did ere compile, Th' onely history shall eternall stand When ruine els shall all records defile, And burne out mem'ry with Obliuions brand; Ayde you those Muses that should ayde my pen, For you'r ador'd of Muses, Gods, and men.³

¹ I have not seen the French original or learned of the circumstances of its publication. Markham did not translate whatever part of the original dealt with Henry III.

² As to "stellified," compare the note, above, upon "rich churles." Omitted from Sidney's Stella.

This is not crystal-clear. It should be noted, however, that "compile" was used in this period in the sense of "make up" or "furnish material for," and that "ere" was used to mean "recently" or "a little while ago." Hence what Markham says, when he addresses Penelope Rich, is that a little while ago she furnished material for the only history that shall be everlasting. He may have had in mind the Arcadia as well as Astrophel and Stella. But if this is not an allusion to Sidney's writing about Penelope, then I can find no meaning at all in it—unless someone can show that Penelope was at this time engaged in "compiling" some great and lasting work of her own. As for the extravagant laudation of Sidney's writings, it will be seen that they are spoken of in much the same way by John Florio in the next passage to be quoted.

We pass now to John Florio's translation of Montaigne, the *Essayes* published in 1603. Each of the three books of this translation is separately dedicated, and each is dedicated to two noblewomen. Book Two honors Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland (Sir Philip Sidney's daughter), and Lady Penelope Rich. These ladies are jointly addressed throughout the long dedicatory epistle.² In one sentence a distinction is made between them; and this sentence has reference to Sidney:

I know, nor this [Montaigne's style and work], nor any I have seen, or can conceive, in this or other language, can in aught be compared to that perfect-vnperfect *Arcadia*, which all our world yet weepes with you, that your all praise-exceeding father (his praise-succeeding Countesse) your worthy friend (friend-worthiest Lady) lived not to mend or end-it: . . . 3

This establishes the fact that Sir Philip had been Lady Rich's "friend." Considering the circumstances, Florio could hardly have used any stronger word, whatever the relation may have been known to be. Turning over the page, in Florio's volume, we come upon two sonnets,

¹ See NED meanings 2b and 6b. Greene, for instance, said that Aurora's blush and the moon's white "compiled" the cheeks of the lady he depicted.

² Fols. R 2^r-R 3^r.

³ Omitted from Sidney's Stella.

⁴ Frances A. Yates, in John Florio (Cambridge, 1934), pp. 106-7, argues that there is an actual allusion to the name Stella in this dedicatory letter. The passage in question runs:

[&]quot;Or as my fellow Nolano in his heroycall furies wrote (noble Countesse) to your most

one to the Countess of Rutland and one to Lady Rich, both signed "Il Candido," the pen name of Florio's friend, Dr. Matthew Gwynn. The second of these concerns us here:

To the Honorably-vertuous Ladie, La: Penelope Riche.

Madame, to write of you, and doe you right,
What meane we, or what meanes to ayde meane might?
Since HE, who admirably did endite,
Entiteling you Perfections heire, Ioyes light,
Loves life, Lifes gemme, Vertues court, Heav'ns delight,
Natures chiefe worke, Fair'st booke, his Muses spright,
Heav'n on Earth, peerelesse Phoenix, Phoebe bright,
Yet said, he was to seeke, of you to write.
Vnlesse your selfe be of your selfe devising;
Or that an other such you can inspire.
Inspire you can; but ô none such can be:
Your selfe as bright as [i.e., at] your mid-day, as rising.
Yet, though we but repeate who would flie higher,

And though we but translate, take both in gree.

Il Candido.

Mr. Purcell found it impossible to believe that "HE" has reference to Sidney, because not all of the epithets listed after "Entiteling you" occur in *Astrophel and Stella*, and some which do appear there are applied to the lady's eyes or face rather than to her entire self. Let us list the evidence, putting first the epithets that occur verbatim or nearly so in Sidney's poems:

heroicke father, and in a Sonnet to you Ladies of England, You are not women, but in their likenesse Nymphs, Goddesses, and of Celestiall substance,

likenesse Nymphs, Goddesses, and of Celestiall substance,

Et siete in terra quel' ch' in ciel' le stelle, . . ."

Mice Vetes caves "La mill be an all the Elliphia de la companya del companya de la companya de la companya del companya de la compa

Miss Yates says: "It will be realised that Florio is quoting the passage from the *Eroici furori* in which Sidney's womenfolk were set apart from anti-Petrarchistic abuse and since he pointedly reminds Lady Rich of a certain line in the sonnet it is clear that he believed that his friend Nolano [i.e., Giordano Bruno] had meant 'le stelle' as an allusion to Stella." Miss Yates then cites V. Spampanato's *Vita di Giordano Bruno* (1921), I, 385–86, as showing that "several writers on Bruno have indeed concluded that he must have known of the Stella affair." I have not been able to investigate the possible evidence in Bruno's writings.

¹ Mr. Purcell, following Miss Mona Wilson, attributed these sonnets to Florio himself. According to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, Gwynn used the pseudonym "Il Candido" (gwyn, in Welsh, means "white"). Earlier in the Essayes there are two poems, so signed,

addressed to Florio.

Perfections heire. Sonnet 71, 9-10:

Ioyes light. Sonnet 76, 3-4:

• • • but now appeares my day, The onely light of ioy, the onely warmth of Loue.

Loves life. In the poem, "When to my deadlie pleasure," Stanza 6:

Yet, yet, a life to their death, Lady you have reserved, Lady the life of all love.³

Lifes gemme. Sonnet 24, 9-10:

But that rich foole who by blind Fortunes lot, The richest gemme of Loue and life enjoyes, . . .

Vertues court. Sonnet 9, 1:

Queene Vertues court, which some call Stellas face, . . .

Natures chiefe worke. Sonnet 7, 1:

When Nature made her chiefe worke, Stellas eyes, . . .

Fair'st booke. Sonnet 71, 1-4:

Who will in fairest booke of Nature know, How Vertue may best lodg'd in beautie be,

¹ Quotations are from the folio edition, The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia (1598), unless otherwise specified.

² Mr. Purcell listed (p. 45) the phrase "Joy's light" as one of those which "do not occur in Astrophel and Stella in any recognizable form."

^{3 &}quot;Love's life" is also said by Mr. Purcell not to appear in Astrophel and Stella. This is true; but Matthew Gwynn did not have to confine himself to the sonnet-sequence. In the 1598 volume he found, placed more prominently than Astrophel and Stella, a group of poems headed "Certaine sonets written by Sir Philip Sidney: Neuer before printed." These are for the most part love-poems, referring to a specific mistress; and anyone who identified Stella as a particular person would assume that these "Certaine sonets" also celebrated her. The passage quoted above is on p. 485.

Let him but learne of *Loue* to reade in thee *Stella*, those faire lines, which true goodnesse show.¹

Heav'n on Earth. "The 7. Wonders of England," Stanza 14:2

An humble pride, a skorne that fauour staines:
A womans mould, but like an Angell graste,
An Angells mind, but in a woman caste:
A heauen on earth, or earth that heauen containes: . . .

peerelesse Phoenix. Sonnet 92, 1, 5-8:

Be your words made (good Sir) of Indian ware,

That to my questions you so totall are, When I demaund of *Phenix Stellas* state, You say forsooth, you left her well of late, O God, thinke you that satisfies my care?³

Yet said, he was to seeke, of you to write.

Sonnet 69, 1:

O ioy, too high for my low stile to show: . . .

Sonnets 34, 12–14; 35, 1–2:

Thus write I while I doubt to write, and wreake
My harmes on Inks poore losse, perhaps some find
Stellas great powrs, that so confuse my mind.

What may words say, or what may words not say, Where truth it selfe must speake like flatterie?

In this last citation, I have implied that Gwynn might have paraphrased his source rather than quoted it. If we allow this, then we

I quote the context because Mr. Purcell said: "Fair'st book,' in Sonnet LXXI, is not Stella at all, but the whole world of nature." It seems to me that "of Nature" is a possessive; what Sidney says, then, is: "Whoever will read in Nature's fairest book, let him but learn from Love to read in thee, Stella" — which means that Stella is equivalent to "fairest booke."

² Also among "Certaine sonets" in the 1598 folio, p. 483.

³ Mr. Purcell denied that "peerelesse Phoenix" could be a reference to the epithet in this passage, because this, he said, "refers not to Stella's 'peerless' qualities, but to her changeableness." I cannot see how the sonnet bears out this interpretation. To call anyone a phoenix is to call him a peerless phoenix, since by definition the phoenix is always unique. Gwynn needed two syllables for his line and added the obvious adjective.

must note that the epithet "his Muses spright" represents very well an idea which Sidney several times expresses:

Sonnet 3, 9:

For me in sooth, no Muse but one I know: . . .

Sonnet 80, 5-6:

The new *Pernassus*, where the Muses bide, Sweetner of musicke, wisedomes beautifier: . . .

Sonnet 55, 1, 9-14:

Muses, I oft inuoked your holy ayde,

But now I meane no more your helpe to trie,
Nor other sugring of my speech to proue,
But on her name incessantly to crie:
For let me but name her whom I do loue,
So sweete sounds straight mine eare and heart do hit,
That I well find no eloquence like it.

As for "Heav'ns delight," it is possible that in transposing the possessives formed by "of" to possessives formed by adding s (as we have seen him doing in three instances), Gwynn went wrong on the phrase at the end of line 4, Sonnet 68:

World of my wealth, and heau'n of my delight.

If he is paraphrasing, he could have had in mind Sonnet 52, 6-7:

That Stella (ô deere name) that Stella is That vertuous soule, sure heire of heau'nly blisse:...

The phrase "heau'n of ioyes" occurs in Sonnet 60, line 3. The only epithet for which some parallel, at least, cannot be found in Sidney's poems is "Phoebe bright." It is possible that in turning over the pages of the poems Gwynn's eye fell on "Dian . . . Phoebus . . . Lady Dians peere" in Sonnet 97, or upon the word "Phoebus" in one of its other several uses. At any rate, we observe that the three epithets which are farthest from the wording of Sidney, "Heav'ns delight," "his Muses spright," and "Phoebe bright," are all of them in a rhyming

position. Although the first time Gwynn had to find an epithet of this rhyme, he used "Ioyes light" (for which he had a good exemplar in Sidney's poetry), he then had greater difficulty in sticking to his source; and finally may have invented "Phoebe bright" out of whole cloth.

This does not exhaust the evidence of Gwynn's sonnet. Lines 9-11 also bring in an allusion to the poet who had celebrated Lady Rich

in his verse:

Vnlesse your selfe be of your selfe devising; Or that an other such you can inspire. Inspire you can; but ô none such can be.¹

Lady Rich can still inspire poets, says Gwynn; but none such as "HE" can possibly exist. Such an expression points to Sidney, and would do so even if there were no quotations from Sidney's poems in the sonnet. And more: it implies that the poet who celebrated Lady Rich is dead. If, as Mr. Purcell suggested, Gwynn is but culling phrases from various poets, how are we to explain this? The principal sonneteers — Daniel, Drayton, Barnes, Constable, Tofte, Percy, Lodge, Barnfield, and Shakespeare — were all living.

What is the alternative to reading "HE" as Sidney? Mr. Purcell's

answer to this question was as follows: 2

The conclusion, then, is that Florio [i.e., Gwynn] in addressing Lady Rich culled phrases not exclusively from Sidney but also from other poets of the time, and fitted them into his sonnet... This piling up of metaphors to honor a lady is an essential part of the Petrarchan tradition. Equivalents of practically every one of Florio's phrases are to be found in the sonnet literature of the Elizabethan period. ... All that Florio says is that some poet has written to praise Lady Rich. This poet need not have been Sidney. Constable's Diana has been thought to have been addressed to Lady Rich; note especially the pun on "rich" in Sonnet X of the First Decade. John Davies of Hereford and other poets addressed verses to her.

If this reasoning is correct, then we shall find the epithets of Gwynn's sonnets either (1) in Constable's *Diana*, or else (2) in the *Diana* plus the sonnet by John Davies of Hereford and other poems to Lady Rich

² Pp. 45-46.

These lines are not discussed in Sidney's Stella.

by other poets. What is the fact? Not a single one of the epithets appears verbatim in Constable ¹ or these others. In support of his sentence to the effect that these epithets, or their equivalents, are to be found in the sonnets of the period, Mr. Purcell offers the following note: ²

Compare, for example, Florio's [i.e., Gwynn's] "Heaven's Delight" with R. Tofte's "quintessence of heaven's delight" in Part III, Sonnet XII, of Laura; with his "Nature's chief work," Barnes's "Nature's wonder" in Sestine I of Parthenophil and Parthenophe; with his "Heaven on earth," Constable's "Thou art heaven" in Sonnet IV, Sixth Decade, of Diana; and with his "Phoebe bright," Barnes's "Phoebe, Lamp of silent Night" in Sonnet XIX of Parthenophil and Parthenophe.

In other words, by throwing down the boundaries set by the problem, and searching in all sonnets, whether addressed to Lady Rich or not,

¹ As a matter of fact, Constable wrote five sonnets to Lady Rich or to someone in immediate relation to her. These were preserved in the manuscript used by Thomas Park in printing Vol. IX of *The Harleian Miscellany* (the first Supplemental Volume, 1812). The sonnets in question are: "To my Ladie Rich" (p. 505), "To the Ladie Rich" (p. 506), "A calculation of the nativitye of the Ladie Riche's daughter, borne upon Friday in the yeare 1588, comonly call'd the yeare of wonder" (p. 509), "To Mr. Hilliard, upon occasion of a picture he made of my Ladie Rich" (p. 509), and "Of the death of my Ladie Riche's daughter" (p. 514). The second one here noted is identical with the tenth sonnet of the first decade of Diana, to which Mr. Purcell calls attention; hence, as he grants, Constable in this sonnet is punning upon the word "rich" and glancing at the name of Penelope. What Mr. Purcell did not see is that this fact strengthens the case for Sidney's having punned in the same way. The third sonnet listed above is included, with no reference to Lady Rich in the title, in the *Diana* (1592) and in the enlarged edition (1594), at the end.

Let it be noticed that not one of these sonnets is a love-sonnet; nor, as said in the text, do they contain the epithets listed by Gwynn. In the fifth sonnet Lady Rich is called the

"Phoenix," but not "peerless Phoenix."

Professor Lily B. Campbell has called to my attention the fact that "Penelope" is one among the several mistresses celebrated in Alexander Craig's *The Amorose Songes, Sonets, and Elegies* (1606), the others being Idea, Lithocardia, Cynthia, Erantina, Pandora, Lais, Kala, and Lesbia. Craig is an imitative writer, and in the first two of his ten poems (all sonnets but one) to Penelope, he imitates Sidney's puns:

[fol. C 3^v] "If curious heades to know her name do craue, Shee is a Lady *Rich*, it needes no more,

Rich, wise, and faire, to thee alone as thrall, I consecrate loue, life, lines, thoughts, and all.

[fol. C 4^r] "thinkst thou faire dame, to buy my loue with gaine Cause thou art rich, I pray thee thinke not so:..."

² P. 46.

Mr. Purcell found one epithet verbatim (there are five verbatim in Sidney) and four equivalents more distant than the five similar equivalents to be found in Sidney. And this with the work of at least twelve poets to draw upon! Thus the alternative explanation fails to explain; and the epithets prove to be not conventional patter, as was argued,

but Sidney's own coinages or sentiments.

Our next exhibits come from the year 1606. Charles Blount, Baron Mountjoy, to whom Penelope had borne three children in an adulterous union, had returned from Ireland in 1603, to receive the gratitude of the King and country for his vigorous campaign there, had been made Earl of Devonshire, and in 1605 had married Lady Rich, after her unfortunate husband had divorced her. Since the divorce was not supposed to allow remarriage, the legality of this union was doubtful, or worse. In 1606 Devonshire died. Among the poets who paid funeral tributes to him was John Ford, whom we know best as a dramatist. Anyone speaking of Devonshire at this time was aware of the notoriety, and in some circles the disgrace, of his union with Penelope. In his elegy, Fames Memoriall (1606), Ford mentions several times the slanderous statements which had been in circulation, and denounces them. Of Devonshire's union with Lady Rich he says:

[fol. D 4^r] Linck't, in the gracefull bonds of dearest life vniustly term'd disgracefull he enioyed,
Contents aboundance, happinesse was rife Pleasure secure, no troubled thought annoyd
His comfort'sweetes, toyle was in toyle destroyd
Maugre the throat of malice, spight of spight
He liu'd vnited to his hearts delighte.

[D 4v] His hearts delight who was that glorious starre which bewtified the value of our lande,
The lightes of whose perfections brighter are
Then all the lampes, which in the lustre stand
Of heavens fore head, by discretion scan'd
Wits ornament, earth's love, loves Paradise
A Saint divine, a bewty fairly wise.

In the next stanza Ford refers to the disgrace Penelope suffered at the time her brother, the Earl of Essex, was imprisoned and executed. In the quoted passage, we notice that Penelope was "that glorious starre

Dmitted from Sidney's Stella.

which bewtified the value of our lande." In other words, she was Stella. If it is argued that other women were dubbed stars by various poets, as is certainly true, then we may put against Ford's reference a similar one in John Cooper's Funeral Teares of the same year. Cooper, using his Italianated name of Coprario, issued a book of seven songs, with music, as his tribute to the dead Devonshire. The songs are offered to Devonshire's widow, Penelope, and indeed are written as if sung by her. The prefatory material especially interests us. Here, among other poems, is a sonnet "To the Ayre," in which Cooper says that Penelope is the owner of "these sad laments":

Receive then chearefull Ayre these sad laments,
Though thou art but one Element, and she
That owes them, of all foure the quintessence,
The Starre of honor, and the sphere of beautie.
Goe, heare her sing these farewels, thou wilt weepe,
And moueless ever in thy regions sleepe.²

Here Penelope is again the star. A poem on the two following pages in Cooper's book presents an eloquent defense of Devonshire's love for Penelope. A third published elegy upon Devonshire, Samuel Daniel's A Funerall Poeme (1606), is notable for the fact that it makes no reference to Devonshire's union with Penelope. The truth is, of course, that although Daniel wished to pay this tribute to a generous patron, he had no stomach for defending Devonshire's love-life, which he probably deplored.³

¹ Henry Lok addressed the Countess of Pembroke as "faire starre" in his sonnet to her among the "Sonnets of the Author to diuers, collected by the Printer" at the end of *Ecclesiastes* (1597), fol. Y 1. Since Lok did not call Lady Rich a star in his sonnet to her (fol. Y 2.), we may look for the appearance of a new work, identifying Stella as the Countess of Pembroke.

2 Omitted from Sidney's Stella.

3 Daniel allows himself thus much [fol. B 3^v], which does not even hint as to the direction

in which Devonshire's "weaknesse" lay:

"Summon detraction, to object the worst
That may be told, and vtter all it can,
It cannot finde a blemish to b'inforst,
Against him, other, then he was a man,
And built of flesh and bloud, and did liue here
Within the region of infirmitie,

But yet his vertues, and his worthinesse, Being seene so farre aboue his weaknesses, Must euer shine, . . ." John Ford, as we know, was deeply impressed by the sad fate of Penelope, married against her will to a churlish husband, and yet loved by two of the most attractive and heroic men in England. In The Broken Heart (printed 1633) Ford represented a lady named Penthea as having been married, by the compulsion of her brother after the untimely death of her father, to a jealous nobleman named Bassanes. Penthea is loved by a spirited knight, Orgilus; although she is faithful to her husband she complains of her lot, saying that really she is unchaste with Bassanes, since Orgilus is truly her husband. In the prologue, Ford wrote:

What may be here thought a fiction, when Times youth Wanted some riper yeares, was knowne A Truth.

Hartley Coleridge, in the introduction to a volume of plays by Massinger and Ford, made the following suggestion: 2 "Ford no doubt remembered Mountjoy and his hapless love when he wrote the Broken Heart." Stuart Sherman, however, without having known of this, decided that the situation in the early portion of The Broken Heart rather represents the relations of Sidney, Penelope, and Lord Rich though carried by the dramatist to a denouement entirely different from the facts of history.3 Sherman's parallels between the play, on the one hand, and the Sidney-Devereux relations and the incidents of Astrophel and Stella, on the other, are very convincing. And he points out that the name, Penthea, given by Ford to his heroine, is borrowed from Spenser's name, Penthia, given to the dead and transformed Stella at the end of "Astrophel." It might be suggested that Ford is combining the figures of Sidney and Blount in one character, though drawing more details from the first than from the second. I would note that his choice of name, Orgilus (angry), suggests Blount (blunt) rather than Sidney. A similar "telescoping" of the two seems to occur in an earlier reference by Ford, that in Honor Triumphant (1606). In

² Quoted by Sherman, op. cit., p. 134. Coleridge's introduction appears in The Dramatic

Works of Massinger and Ford (1840, 1848).

¹ See Stuart P. Sherman's edition (Boston, 1915) of 'Tis Pity and The Broken Heart, Introd., pp. ix-xi, xxiv-xxvi.

^{3 &}quot;Stella and the Broken Heart," PMLA, XXIV (1909), 274-85. Omitted from Sidney's Stella.

this verbal tourney, Ford puts into the speech of the Duke of Lennox the following passage: ¹

... and they principally deserue loue who can moderate their private affection, and leuell the scope of desert to the executing their ladies' commaund, and adorne their names by martiall feates of armes: as for instance — Paris defended Hellen with the losse of his life: Troylus would fight for Cresseida: Æneas wonne Lavinia with the dint of his weapon and sweat of blood: Pœlops hazarded his life for Hippodamia. Yea, what better example than of late in our owne territorie? that noble, untimelie cropt spirit of honour our English Hector, who cared not to undergoe any gust of spleene and censure, for his neuer-sufficiently admired Opia, a perfect Penelope to her ancient knight, Ulisses; he an unfained Ulisses to her, for whose sake neither the wiles of Circes, or inchauntments of Syrens, or brunt of warrs, could force or intice to forgetfulnes.

Devonshire was lately dead; and the surface allusion undoubtedly is to him. Yet Sidney may be combined with Devonshire in the name "our English Hector," since Sidney died from his wounds in battle, as did Hector, and Devonshire did not. Furthermore, the identity of Ulysses in this passage seems to waver: first we have Lady Rich (Opia) faithful to her aged Ulysses (Rich), as she was represented in Astrophel and Stella; then we have our English Hector becoming her "unfained Ulisses" — that is, Devonshire became her husband.

An indirect allusion to the Penelope-Sidney relationship may also be found in Sir Kenelm Digby's "Loose Fancies," the manuscript account (written as a roman à clef) wherein we are told of Digby's wooing of Lady Venetia Stanley in the years about 1620. One character in this true romance, identifiable as Henry Rich, Viscount Kensington (later Earl of Holland), is called "the Earl of Arcadia." Henry Rich was Penelope's son.

In 1619 Dr. Thomas Campion issued a second (revised and enlarged) edition of his Latin poems, under the title *Epigrammatum Libri II*; the title-page also calls for a poem, "Umbra," and a book of

¹ As reprinted in Early Prose and Poetical Tracts (Shakespeare Society, 1853), II, 11-12. Omitted from Sidney's Stella.

² Printed as *Private Memoirs of Sir Kenelm Digby*, ed. Sir Nicholas Harris Nicolas (1827). The whole is written in a style somewhat imitative of Sidney's Arcadianism. Venetia Stanley is given the name of Stelliana; Digby himself is called Theagenes, after a character in Heliodorus. The key appears at the end of Nicolas's introduction.

elegies. In the first edition, the *Poemata* of 1595, "Umbra" had been incomplete, with the title "Fragmentum Umbrae." But an "Argumentum" prefixed showed that the story had been fully plotted. "Umbra" tells of a beautiful dark youth named Melampus, the son of Iole by Apollo. Morpheus fell in love with Melampus and tempted him in dreams. Then Morpheus went to Proserpine and sought to view all the beautiful women of all time. Proserpine showed him the shades of fair Trojans, Greeks, and Romans—Antiope, Helen, Rhodope, Roxana, and others. Then Morpheus viewed the spirits of beautiful Englishwomen—Rosamond, Jane Shore, Geraldine, and Alice, Countess of Derby. From this point we may quote:

[ll. 313-21] Nec tamen his contentus abit deus, altius ardet
Accelerare pedem, fulgor procul aduocat ingens
Apparens oculis, maioraque sidera spondet.
Emicat e viridi myrteto stella Britanna,
Penelope, Astrophili quae vultu incendet amores
Olim, et voce ducem dulci incantabit Hybernum.
Constitit eximiae captus dulcedine formae
Morpheus, atque vno miratur corpore nasci
Tot veneres, memori quas omnes mente recondit.¹

["But not content with these the god turns away, burning to hasten higher. A great splendor shining in his eyes from afar announces and promises greater glories. There gleams from a green myrtle-grove the British star, Penelope, who by her face will sometime kindle the loves of Astrophel, and by her sweet voice will charm the Irish leader. Morpheus, taken by the grace of her surpassing beauty, stands transfixed and wonders that there should be born in one body so many beauties — all of which he hides away in his mind to remember."]

The remainder of the story need not concern us, except that we should observe that Morpheus was seeking a beautiful shade whose appearance he might assume in order to win the love of Melampus. Nor is it profitable to inquire whether the poem was left incomplete in 1595 because of considerations touching Penelope's reputation and Sidney's fair fame.

Exactly how Sidney's love (whether assumed or real) for Stella was regarded by moralists in his family a generation later, we may learn

¹ Omitted from Sidney's Stella. In The Works of Dr. Thomas Campion, ed. A. H. Bullen (1889), p. 377. Bullen annotates this passage as alluding to Lady Penelope Rich.

from Anne Bradstreet's "An Elegie upon that Honourable and renowned Knight, Sir *Philip Sidney*, who was untimely slaine at the Seige of *Zutphon*, Anno 1586," printed in *The Tenth Muse* (1650) but dated 1638. It will be recalled that Anne Bradstreet was born Anne Dudley, the daughter of Thomas Dudley (1576–1653), a relative of Sidney through Mary Dudley, Sidney's mother. Mrs. Bradstreet mentions the relationship: ¹

Let then, none dis-allow of these my straines, Which have the self-same blood yet in my veines; Who honours thee for what was honourable, But leaves the rest, as most unprofitable: . . .

The "most unprofitable" works of Sidney are of course the Arcadia and the love-poems. Yet Mrs. Bradstreet, after satisfying her conscience, finds a defense for the Arcadia: 2

Thalia, and Melpomene, say th' truth, (Witnesse Arcadia, penn'd in his youth)
Are not his Tragick Comedies so acted,
As if your nine-fold wit had been compacted;
To shew the world, they never saw before,
That this one Volumne should exhaust your store.
I praise thee not for this, it is unfit,
This was thy shame, O miracle of wit:
Yet doth thy shame (with all) purchase renown,
What doe thy vertues then? Oh, honours crown!

Thy wiser dayes, condemn'd thy witty works, Who knowes the Spels that in thy Rethorick lurks? But some infatuate fooles soone caught therein, Found Cupids Dam, had never such a Gin; Which makes severer eyes but scorn thy Story, And modest Maids, and Wives, blush at thy glory; Yet, he's a beetle head, that cann't discry A world of treasure, in that rubbish lye; And doth thy selfe, thy worke, and honour wrong, (O brave Refiner of our Brittish Tongue;) That sees not learning, valour, and morality, Justice, friendship, and kind hospitality; Yea, and Divinity within thy Book, Such were prejudicate, and did not look: . . .

¹ P. 192.

A little farther on Mrs. Bradstreet deals with Stella: 1

Illustrious Stella, thou didst thine [i.e., shine?] full well, If thine aspect was milde to Astrophell; I fear thou wert a Commet, did portend Such prince as he, his race should shortly end: If such Stars as these, sad presages be, I wish no more such Blazers we may see; But thou art gone, such Meteors never last, And as thy beauty, so thy name would wast, But that it is record by *Philips* hand, That such an omen once was in our land, O Princely Philip, rather Alexander, Who wert of honours band, the chief Commander. How could that *Stella*, so confine thy will? To wait till she, her influence distill, I rather judg'd thee of his mind that wept, To be within the bounds of one world kept, But Omphala, set Hercules to spin, And Mars himself was ta'n by Venus gin; Then wonder lesse, if warlike *Philip* yield, When such a *Hero* shoots him out o' th' field, Yet this preheminence thou hast above, That thine was true, but theirs adult'rate love.

The account is clear. Stella was a comet or a meteor rather than a star; she presaged the end of the man who loved her; her name would be forgotten except for the poems in which Sidney celebrated her; Sidney's love for her kept him from more important matters. On the other hand, we may console ourselves with the fact that the two never committed adultery together, as did other famous lovers; and (see the first couplet quoted) we may hope that Sidney received some happiness from loving Stella.

Mrs. Bradstreet does not say that Stella was Penelope Devereux. Yet that lady exactly fulfils the demands of this account. "I wish no more such Blazers we may see," says the poetess. She can hardly have in mind Frances Walsingham, Sidney's wife; or Ann Cecil, who, Mr. Purcell said, "makes just as good a heroine as does Penelope Devereux." That Penelope was a "Blazer" was sufficiently well known to have caused the circulation of scurrilous epigrams about her.

¹ Pp. 193-94.

Modern readers have not fully appreciated the disgrace into which she fell by her marriage with Devonshire (added to the adulterous life she had previously led). When Devonshire died, the following epigram was written:

The diuell men say in Deuonshyre dyed of late but Deuonshyre lately liued in Riche estate till Riches Toyes did Deuonshyre soe bewitche as Deuonshyre died & lefte the Diuell Riche,^z

It is just possible that the butt of the foregoing is Lord Rich, Penelope's former husband, and that the references to Penelope are in "Riche estate" and "Riches Toyes." At any rate the epigrammatist is not respectful to Penelope. Another epigram, preserved in several manuscripts, emphasizes her craving for masculine society. And in Henry Parrot's *Epigrams* of 1608 appeared the following quatrain, which seems to have been occasioned by Penelope's death in 1607:

Mortalia cuncta caduca.

Stella the starre that whilome shinde so bright, Is now eclipsed and hath lost her light: 'Twas pitty (Stella) that thy starres were such, Better for thee they had not shinde so much.³

Earlier than this, Parrot had chosen the name "Penelope" with reference to an unchaste wife, though its classical use would suggest exactly the opposite:

² Preserved in Additional MS 25303, fol. 98².

² In English, among the manuscript entries at the end of *Various Poems*, B. M. pressmark C. 39. a. 37; and in Ashmolean MS 38, p. 168, and Additional MS 15227, fol. 7^v. It begins

"Here lies faire Penelope or my Lady Rich or the countesse of Deuonsheire, I know not which."

The point which follows may be left in the decent obscurity of a learned tongue, as found in Additional MS 15227, fol. 24^v:

"In Dnam Rich

Vix placuere duo lapides, dum vita fuisset Cuj jam defunctae, sufficit iste lapis."

An English version of these two lines, with reference to Penelope omitted, may be seen among

the epitaphs (No. 33) in Wits Recreations (1640).

³ Fol. B 3^r. This was reprinted in Parrot's Laquei Ridiculosi (1613); but it had not appeared, as had many of the pieces in Epigrams, in Parrot's The Mous-Trap of 1606. Hence the date of its composition associates it with the death of Penelope. The point of it is not too

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Old doting *Claudus* doth in hast desire, with beautious young *Penelope* to wed: Whose frozen appetite is set on fire, Vntill the match be throughly finished. Indeed as good dispatch, as make delay, That must be horned on his wedding day.

The shadow of Penelope's ill fame may be discerned upon the pages of Clarendon when he is writing about her sons. For example, he thus introduces the Earl of Holland:

The earl of Holland was a younger son of a noble house, and a very fruitful bed, which divided a numerous issue between two great fathers; the eldest, many sons and daughters to the lord Rich; the younger, of both sexes to Mounjoy earl of Devonshire, who had been more than once married to the mother. The reputation of his family gave him no great advantage in the world, ...²

Again, he makes this comment, in connection with the same noble-

... And therefore it shall suffice now to say, that there was a very froward fate attended all or most of the posterity of that bed from whence he and his brother of Warwick had their original; though he, and some others amongst them, had many very good parts and excellent endowments.³

Clarendon's picture of Holland's elder brother, the Earl of Warwick, may very well throw light on the character of Penelope. One is always puzzled by the fact that Penelope, in spite of her open adultery, remained for the greater part of her life in good standing with the nobility and gentry, and was praised for her virtue and devoutness by Matthew Gwynn, Henry Constable, Henry Lok, and John Davies of Hereford, not to mention Sir Philip Sidney. Here is what Clarendon says of her son Warwick, who must have resembled her: 4

clear; but perhaps Parrot is making the usual pun on the idea of "light" and saying that if her stars had not shone so brightly she would not have been so light a woman.

¹ The Mous-Trap, Epigram 55, fol. D 2^v. Reprinted in Epigrams (1608), H 2^r, and Laquei Ridiculosi (1613), N 8^r. I am not suggesting that this is an allusion to Penelope Devereux, but I do suggest that Penelope's reputation may have influenced the choice of this name for a wife of this sort.

² History of the Rebellion, I, 137.

³ Ibid., VI, 405.

⁴ Ibid., p. 404.

... He was a man of a pleasant and companionable wit and conversation, of an universal jollity, and such a license in his words and in his actions that a man of less virtue could not be found out:... But with all these faults,... by opening his doors, and making his house the rendezvous of all the silenced ministers... and spending a good part of his estate, of which he was very prodigal, upon them, and by being present with them at their devotions, and making himself merry with them, and at them, which they dispensed with, he became the head of that party, and got the style of a godly man.

It will be noticed that Clarendon never mentions by name the mother of these noblemen, just as Daniel had failed to refer to her in his elegy upon her husband. Other writers who had excellent opportunities for naming her were likewise silent. Fynes Moryson, for instance, was for several years secretary to the Earl of Devonshire; he was with him in Ireland, he returned to England with him, and lived in his house at Wanstead, whither Penelope came for the unlucky marriage; and he was with him when he died. In his *Itinerary* (1617), Moryson included a detailed "character" of Devonshire, extending to four folio pages, and in another place he described his death. Yet he says no word whatever about Penelope Rich.2 Sir Robert Naunton, in his Fragmenta Regalia (1642), gives three pages to an account of Devonshire, again with no mention of Penelope.3 The reason for these silences is apparent; and it is the one implied by Thomas Heywood when writing "Of Adulteresses" in FTNAIKEION (1624): 4 "A homely tale I am next to tell you, were it of one of our owne countreywomen I would conceale it, ... " And it is perhaps significant that,

¹ II, 45-48.

² On p. 48, Moryson says: "Lastly, in his loue to Weomen, (for as wanton peace succeeds bloody warre, so in the last period of his life, after the Irish warres, griefe of vnsuccessefull loue brought him to his last end): He was faithfull and constant, if not transported with selfe-loue more then the object, and therein obstinate." Again, on p. 296, he says that although the King had promised that Devonshire's title would descend to his heir, "it died with him, and he enioyed the rest of this worldly happinesse but few yeeres"; but there is not a word about the reason — the illegal marriage with Penelope.

³ Mr. Purcell (p. 58) pointed to the fact that in his shorter sketch of Sidney, Naunton never suggests that Penelope was Sidney's Stella — and this in spite of the fact that Naunton's wife was Penelope's niece. He overlooked the circumstance that Naunton also failed to name Penelope as Devonshire's lady. The facts here developed explain the silence. Furthermore, Naunton mentions no writings whatever of Sidney, so that he had no occasion to refer to Penelope in that connection, whatever her reputation.

⁴ P. 196.

when Heywood spoke of Sidney as a poet in A Curtaine Lecture (1637), he avoided even the mention of Stella:

If wee examine the ancient Poets, not one of them but had a Mistresse whom to celebrate. Amongst the Romans, Tibullus had his Delia, Lucan his

Argentaria, ... and so of the rest.

Amongst the Italians, Dantes had his Beatrix, Petrarch his Aureta, &c.... ... And of our English, I will only, at this time, memorize two; famous Mr. Edmund Spencer, magnified in his Gloriana; and the most renowned Sr. Philip Sidney, never to bee forgotten in his Pamela and Philoclea.

The real significance of Heywood's choice here may be only that in his time Astrophel and Stella was not considered an important work, certainly not an important separate work. In Henry Holland's Herwologia Anglica (1620), there is a sketch of Sidney which mentions the Arcadia at considerable length, and the translation from Du Mornay, but not Astrophel and Stella.² After the generation which grew up on Sidney's immediate posthumous fame, there was not the curiosity about identifying Stella which we now feel. A case in point is Fulke Greville's The Life of the Renowned Sr Philip Sidney (1652), which, although discussing in detail the solid qualities of the Arcadia, never mentions Astrophel and Stella, or, for that matter, Sidney's wife. There may have been some suppression here, either by Greville himself or by his editor, P. B., who signed the dedication.

Our discussion of Penelope's character and reputation, with the posthumous silence concerning her name, was necessary as a preliminary to the next part of our study, which will deal with Sidney's reputation under the hands of Puritan and theological writers. The fact is, as was shown by Anne Bradstreet's treatment of the *Arcadia* and of Stella, that while such writers wished to claim Sidney as a Christian and Protestant hero, they felt that something worldly and faintly scandalous adhered to his reputation.³ So far as Penelope

¹ Pp. 19-21.

³ William Prynne, in *Histrio-Mastix* (1633), p. 915, said that ministers should "forbeare the reading of lascivious amorous scurrilous Play-bookes, Histories, and Arcadiaes; there be-

² We must remember that from 1598 to 1674 there were published some fourteen editions of Sidney's works, in folio volumes which bore upon the title-page *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia*, but the name of no other work. With some owners and readers, the whole collection would be thought of as the *Arcadia*. I believe I am right in saying that after 1591 there was no separate edition of *Astrophel and Stella* until Arber's reprint of 1877.

Devereux was connected with his name, there was definite ground for scandal — more definite, that is, than merely his having written love-sonnets and a romance. Hence there seems to have been an attempt to disassociate Sidney from the implications of his love-poetry, or, as we might now say, to "whitewash" him. Such an attempt may be seen, in petto, in "Austins Aduertisement" in Urania (1629), by the good Samuel Austin, who urges William Browne ("Willy") to transport his lays from earth to heaven — that is, to write sacred instead of profane poetry. Austin goes on:

Then bid the world farewell with Sydney, (he That was the Prince of English Poesie,)
And ioyne with me (the worst of all thy traine)
To bring these times into a better straine.

A marginal note to the name of Sidney reads: "vid. Sydneys last Sonnet at the end of his Arcadia." What Austin is referring to, of course, is the sonnet beginning "Leaue me ô Loue, which reachest but to dust," and ending,

Then farewell world, thy vttermost I see, Eternall Loue maintaine thy life in me.

In other words, Austin points to Sidney's recantation of his lovepoems and of his interest in carnal love as a token that he should be admitted to the ranks of the sacred poets. We have already seen

ing no women, no youthes so exactly chaste, which may not easily be corrupted by them." Sir Richard Baker, in *Theatrum Redivivum* (1662), his posthumously published reply to Prynne, quotes from Sidney's *Defense of Poesie* and adds (2d ed., 1670; pp. 119-20): "Thus the excellent *Sidney*:... Yet there is an Exception against him to, because he hath written an *Arcadia*, one of the Books in this man's *Index Expurgatorius*." Baker was a religious writer, though not a Puritan. Edward Leigh, in *A Treatise of Religion and Learning, and of Religious and Learned men* (1656), also defended Sidney (p. 324): "Of whom I may say, as *Austen* did of Homer, that he is very sweet and delightful euen in his vanities. Yet he was not so fond of his *Arcadia* as the Bishop *Heliodorus* of his amorous books, for he desired when he died (having first consulted with a Minister about it) to have had it suppressed." Leigh was a Puritan.

¹ Even the Puritans, however, could not be open in disapproval or denunciation of Penelope. One of her sons, the Earl of Holland, was a parliamentary supporter during the early 1640's, though he went over to the King and was executed in 1649; but his brother, the Earl of Warwick, was a hero of the Puritan party, served as its admiral, and remained as a counselor and friend to Cromwell. There could be no scandal about the Earl of Warwick's mother. Furthermore, the parliamentary general, Essex, was Penelope's nephew.

Anne Bradstreet's argument that an intelligent person can find good lessons in the *Arcadia*; as for Stella, she was a bad lot, and it was a shame and loss that Sidney was misled by her. But the most important document in connection with the puritanical view is "The Life and Death of Sir Philip Sidney," published with the *Arcadia* of 1655 and more than once thereafter. This sketch, signed Φιλοφίλιππος, runs to eleven large pages. Never does it refer to Sidney's love-poetry. Of his love-affairs, or -affair, it says:

A Ladie now must bee provided for him, whose deserts eased him of the trouble of Courtship; Many Nobles of the female sex, ventring as far, as modestie would permit, to signifie their affections unto him. Sir *Philip* will not read the characters of their love, though obvious to every eye. And now the sole daughter and heir of Sir *Francis Walsingham* is preferred to bee his consort, with great hope and expectation that the world should bee enriched with a male-heir of these united perfections.

Thus $\Phi \iota \lambda o \phi \iota \lambda \iota \pi \pi o s$ presents Sidney as a Joseph and as a booby who could not see what was obvious to every eye, and expunges the old faint tinge of scandal by putting the blame upon the forward hussies of the court.

Now it should be noted that the authority drawn upon by the biographer was no other than Edmund Spenser. In "Astrophel" by that poet occur the following lines:

Full many Maydens often did him woo, Them to vouchsafe emongst his rimes to name, Or make for them as he was wont to doo, For her that did his heart with loue inflame. For which they promised to dight for him, Gay chapelets of flowers and gyrlonds trim.

And many a Nymph both of the wood and brooke, Soone as his oaten pipe began to shrill:
Both christall wells and shadie groues forsooke,
To heare the charmes of his enchanting skill.
And brought him presents, flowers if it were prime,
Or mellow fruit if it were haruest time.

But he for none of them did care a whit, Yet wood Gods for them oft sighed sore: Ne for their gifts vnworthie of his wit,

Yet not ynworthie of the countries store. For one alone he cared, for one he sight, His lifes desire, and his deare loues delight.

The moral biographer, however, has made a transformation. Sidney in the poem is not a Joseph or a blockhead, but a lover. Another picture of Sidney, painted by a theological writer, will be found in The Lives of Sundry Eminent Persons in this Later Age (1683) by Samuel Clark, "Sometimes Pastor of Bennet Fink, London." The company in which Sidney finds himself in this volume shows that in its author's eyes he is to be remembered only as a Protestant hero (who opposed the French marriage of Elizabeth) and for his services to religion. Although Clark filled nine close-packed folio pages, lifting most of his material verbatim from Greville's Life, he found no room for any treatment of Sidney's writings." The poet, the lover, the weaver of romance, has disappeared.

It is in the period of the Commonwealth, then, and among such readers as we have just been discussing, that the treatment of Stella in Spenser's and Lodovick Bryskett's elegies seems first to have gained any sort of credence. In 1677 Anne Bradstreet died, and some friend prepared for publication the second edition of her poems, which appeared at Boston in 1678. We have seen her defense of the Arcadia and her rueful account of Stella as she wrote them in 1638 and printed them in 1650. Turning to the elegy upon Sidney in the Boston edition of 1678, what do we find? The defense of the Arcadia is there, but the line in which the poetess claims kinship with Sidney has been altered to

Whilst English blood yet runs within my veins.2

The passage on Stella, quoted above (p. 110), has disappeared entirely, with the following in its place:

> And Phoenix Spencer doth unto his life, His death present in sable to his wife. Stella the fair, whose streams from Conduits fell For the sad loss of her dear Astrophel.3

² P, 204.

When introducing Languet, Clark says: "Instance that Reverend Languet, mentioned for honour sake in Sir Philip Sidny's Arcadia." This, taken from Greville, is the sole mention of that work, and there is no mention of any other published work. 3 P. 205.

We are to suppose that "Stella" is in apposition to "his wife," even though a period separates them. The state of mind represented by this change, which may have been made by Mrs. Bradstreet's editor rather than by her, seems to have been something like this: love-poetry such as Astrophel and Stella is immoral, but the worst of its immorality disappears if it was written to the poet's wife; Spenser's elegy seems to say that it was; let us say so too. A somewhat similar change took place in the writings of William Winstanley, between 1660 and 1687. In his England's Worthies of the earlier date, he mentions 2

a Book entituled, Astrophel and Stella, with divers Songs and Sonnets in praise of his Lady, whom he celebrated under that bright name; so excellently and elegantly penned, that, etc.,³

wherein we may think that he already accepts the view that Stella was Frances Walsingham and that "Lady" means wife, or we may think that he wishes to leave the way open for another interpretation. But in his Lives of the most Famous English Poets (1687),4 there is no ambiguity:

a Book entituled Astrophel and Stella, with divers Songs and Sonnets in praise of his Lady, whom he celebrated under that bright Name; whom afterwards he married, that Paragon of Nature, Sir Francis Walsingham's Daughter, who impoverished himself to enrich the State; etc.

Some of Winstanley's language, here and elsewhere, is borrowed from the "Life" of 1655 by $\Phi\iota\lambda o\phi i\lambda\iota\pi\pi os$, republished 1674. But the fresh edition of Spenser's poems in 1679 may also have had some part in enforcing the new view of Stella.

At any rate, we must consider the possibility of identifying Stella with Frances Walsingham, for which identification the evidence, if any, exists in Spenser's "Astrophel," published in *Colin Clouts Come Home Againe* (1595), with a separate dedication to Lady Essex (Frances Walsingham, Sidney's widow, married the Earl of Essex in 1590), and containing, besides Spenser's own elegy, one by the Countess of Pem-

² P. 181.

⁴ P. 81.

¹ This period is retained in the third edition (1758).

³ As Mr. Purcell pointed out, this passage was taken over verbatim by Sir Thomas Pope Blount, De Re Poetica (1694), p. 206.

broke and two by Lodovick Bryskett — followed by the three elegies (Roydon's, Ralegh's, and Greville's) which had already appeared in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593). The Countess of Pembroke says nothing concerning Stella in her elegy; the second elegy of Bryskett's likewise ignores her. So we have to examine Spenser's elegy and the first of Bryskett's two.

We have already seen (above, pp. 116-17) Spenser's account of the advances made to Astrophel by the nymphs; the poet proceeds:

For one alone he cared, for one he sight, His lifes desire, and his deare loues delight.

Stella the faire, the fairest star in skie, As faire as Venus or the fairest faire: A fairer star saw neuer liuing eie, Shot her sharp pointed beames through purest aire. Her he did loue, her he alone did honor, His thoughts, his rimes, his songs were all vpon her.

To her he vowd the seruice of his daies, On her he spent the riches of his wit: For her he made hymnes of immortall praise, Of onely her he sung, he thought, he writ. Her, and but her of loue he worthie deemed, For all the rest but litle he esteemed.

Ne her with ydle words alone he wowed, And verses vaine (yet verses are not vaine) But with braue deeds . . .

Later, Spenser tells of Astrophel's receiving his fatal wound. The other shepherds then bore him unto "his loued lasse." She tore her locks, peaked and pined, bathed his pale face with her tears, and, after he had died, she forthwith died also,

To proue that death their hearts cannot divide, Which living were in love so firmly tide.

The gods transformed the two of them into a flower that first grows red and then fades to blue, with a star in the middle of it, "resembling

I do not know that the fact has ever been noted, but from the make-up of the book it seems clear that Spenser was responsible only for his own, the Countess of Pembroke's, and Bryskett's elegies; that is, he wrote his own and the introductions and links serving to connect the others with his. Ponsonbie, the printer, seems to have lifted the other three elegies from The Phoenix Nest and appended them.

Stella in her freshest yeares." Some call the flower "Starlight," others "Penthia," but hereafter it should be called "Astrophel."

Without reviewing the puzzled and puzzling explanations that commentators have written concerning Spenser's poem, let me say that it seems to me that Spenser, while by no means clearly saying that Sidney's Stella was Frances Walsingham, is trying to spread the impression, or to leave the way open for the inference, that she is. Yet his account of the death of Stella puts his treatment of the subject into the realm of fiction rather than of history. That is, he is trying to build a new fictional construction around the Stella of Sidney's poetry—one which is different from the actual history and also from the fictional or semifictional construction made by Sidney. The story in "Astrophel," then, is the poetic offspring of Spenser's gallant desire to keep Sidney's reputation free from all scandal and to honor Sidney's former wife. A definite effort to hush or to forestall stories about Sidney's having written his poems to someone else may be seen in the lines,

And layes of loue he also could compose, Thrise happie she, whom he to praise did chose.

Full many Maydens often did him woo, Them to vouchsafe emongst his rimes to name, Or make for them as he was wont to doo, For her that did his heart with loue inflame.

Turning to "The Mourning Muse of Thestylis," the first elegy by Lodovick Bryskett, we find Stella introduced as the first of many mourners for the dead Sidney. The poet tells how her hair hung loose and "Her heart sent drops of pearle" from "those two bright starres, to him sometime so deere." She utters a lament:

Were wont to be, how canst thou leaue me thus alone In darknesse and astray; weake, wearie, desolate, Plung'd in a world of woe, refusing for to take Me with thee, to the place of rest where thou art gone.

Having ended, she continues weeping, "And with her sobs and sighs, th'aire round about her roong." It will be seen that the epithet "faithfull pheere" is the most outright indication anywhere in the elegies by Spenser and Bryskett that Stella is Sidney's wife. I think there can be no doubt that both poets were willing, and perhaps hoping, to give that impression; and so dedicated the result to Lady Essex as their contribution to the fame of her former husband — and her own fame. But Bryskett, as the poorer poet, was more crude in his methods. Let us remember that the report had been brought back from Zutphen that Sidney, from his deathbed, had asked that his amorous works be burned. Such a task as Spenser and Bryskett undertook would be, then, in accordance with the spirit of that request.

I am encouraged to hold the view that Spenser's and Bryskett's elegies were written as fictions, and recognized as such, by the fact that I cannot find anyone earlier than $\Phi \iota \lambda \omega \phi \iota \lambda \iota \iota \pi \pi \sigma s$ of 1655 who pretended to believe them; and even this worthy does not go so far as to state that Stella was Sidney's wife. Furthermore, after 1655, I have found only William Winstanley and Robert Southey expressing such a

¹ Both Spenser's and Bryskett's elegies were written, we should suppose, before Astrophel and Stella was published — that is, in the first four years after Sidney's death. When they were composed, their authors may have thought that the sequence, assuming that they knew it at first hand, never would be published. And the same observation may be made concerning Nicholas Breton's "Amoris Lachrimae," printed in Brittons Bowre of Delights (1591), in which Breton's attitude is similar to Spenser's and Bryskett's, though not made nearly so explicit:

"In all the skie he honoured but a starre,
That was his course of all his kind affection,
Whose flame was nere, although the fire a farre,
Gaue him the light of loues direction:
He was so kind and constant where he loued,
As once resolu'd, he could not be remoued."

This is all Breton says on the subject. It is not unequivocal as pointing either to Frances or

to Penelope.

Furthermore, in Colin Clouts Come Home Againe (1595), written after Astrophel and Stella had appeared, Spenser makes no slightest implication that Stella was Sidney's wife. In ll. 487-91, he praises "Vriana, sister vnto Astrofell," and then, after presenting seven other ladies, he writes (ll. 532-35):

"Ne lesse praisworthie Stella do I read,
Though nought my praises of her needed arre,
Whom verse of noblest shepheard lately dead
Hath prais'd and rais'd aboue each other starre."

If Stella was Sidney's widow, why separate her so far from his sister?

belief, though Anne Bradstreet's elegy was made to read as if she, too, held it. In 1834 Southey wrote to Sir Egerton Brydges as follows:

Sydney's "Stella" cannot have been Lady Rich, because his poems plainly relate to a successful passion, and because the name was applied to his widow.

It is true that Mr. Purcell said: 2 "The other tradition identifies Stella with Frances Walsingham, Lady Sidney," and that he cited as the carrier of this tradition an article by Emma M. Denkinger; but he omitted to point out that Miss Denkinger in her Philip Sidney (1932), published a year later, is complete and circumstantial in her identification of Stella as Penelope. As for Mr. Purcell himself, one is puzzled by his attitude toward this very frail tradition. He devoted four pages 3 to a discussion of the elegies we have just been viewing, pointing out that Spenser, and more particularly Bryskett, had good reason to know Sidney's intimate affairs. And yet on another page 4 he said: "Our knowledge of Sidney's character, and the intimacy of the details recounted, prevent our accepting an autobiographical interpretation of Astrophel and Stella." Hence Stella cannot be Frances Walsingham. The fact seems to be that Mr. Purcell wished his readers to accept the evidence of Spenser and Bryskett as proof that Stella was not Penelope Rich, but he wished them to reject it as proof that Stella was Frances Walsingham. But it is the very same evidence, under the same interpretation, that we must at once reject and accept.

Anyone who wished to continue, or to revive, the tradition that Stella was Frances Walsingham would encounter, besides all the difficulties (such as the "Rich" sonnets and other references) already noted, the two sonnets of renunciation which were first printed in 1598, at the end of "Certaine sonets... Neuer before printed." The

first is a denunciation of desire:

Thou blind mans marke, thou fooles selfe chosen snare, Fond fancies scum, and dregs of scattred thought,

Desire, desire I have too dearely bought, With prise of mangled mind thy worthlesse ware,

¹ Autobiography . . . of Sir Egerton Brydges (1834), II, 282. Southey's statement gives no support to those who say that Sidney's sonnets were conventional exercises without autobiographical significance.

² P. 9.

³ 58-62.

⁴ 113.

and so proceeding to the end, "Desiring nought but how to kill desire." The second is the eloquent renunciation of earthly love in favor of heavenly, already quoted from above (p. 115). Now, if we are to suppose that Sidney was addressing Frances Walsingham as Stella (and his love for his wife is cited by commentators), we must suppose that as a husband of less than four years' standing, he expressed bitter remorse for having loved his wife, and accepted the lesson of virtue that such love was wrong; furthermore, he now renounced this love.

So far, we have proceeded without reference to D. Tyndale's letter to John Aubrey (between folios 81 and 82, Aubrey MS 6 in the Ashmolean collection of the Bodleian Library). Mr. Purcell made the incorrect assumption that "the critics who maintain that Stella is Lady Rich" are "basing their argument, of course, upon Aubrey's Lives." This ignores the fact that "Aubrey's Lives," at least so far as this work concerns Sidney, was never published until 1898.2 Some of these "critics" may have seen the manuscript in question. But a glance at their writings (i.e., those of A. B. Grosart, H. L. Fox Bourne, J. A. Symonds, A. W. Pollard, Sidney Lee, et al.) shows that they based their identification of Penelope as Stella upon the record of the early marriage "treaty" between Sidney and Penelope plus the evidence of the sequence itself — particularly the "Rich" sonnets. J. J. Jusserand, who turned aside 3 to answer Courthope's doubts concerning the genuine passion of Astrophel and Stella, used also the evidence of Florio's preface and Gwynn's sonnet, with no mention of Aubrey or of Tyndale. Anthony à Wood doubtless used Tyndale's letter as the basis for his identification of Stella with Penelope.4

Let us consider this letter. A lady had asked John Aubrey for a key to Sidney's *Arcadia*, and Aubrey evidently passed on the request to Tyndale, whom he knew to have some special knowledge of the matter. Tyndale's reply is dated February 18, 1686/7; the pertinent passages are:

¹ P. 54. ² 'Brief Lives,' chiefly of Contemporaries, set down by John Aubrey, ed. Andrew Clark (2 vols.; Oxford, 1898). The letter here discussed is printed at II, 250-52. Some selections from Aubrey's manuscripts were printed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, but not, so far as I can learn, the notes on Sidney or the letter of Tyndale.

³ A Literary History of the English People (3d ed.; New York, 1926), II, 396, n.
4 Athenae Oxonienses, I (1691), col. 184, after listing Astrophel and Stella: "viz. the Lady Rich, by whom was understood Philoclea in the Arcadia."

I wishe I could give you the key you desire, but all I know of it is not worth anything; though conversant amongst his relations, could learne noe more then Pamela's being my lady Northumberland, Philo[clea] my lady Rich, two sisters, the last beloved by him, upon whose account he made his Astrophell and Stella; Miso, lady Cox, Mopse, lady Lucy, persons altogether unknowne now; Musid[orus] and Pericles, the two ladies' husbands. Lord Ri[ch] being then his friend, he perswaded her mother to the match, though he repented afterwards: she then very young and secretly in love with him but he no consern for her. Her beauty augmenting, he sayes in his Astrophel and Stella, he didnt think 'the morn would have proved soe faire a daye.'

There follow two sentences about the mother of Penelope, Lettice Knolles, and then:

It was thought he meant himself by Amphi[alus] and his lady, Sir Francis Walsingham's daughter and heire, the queen of Corinth. If he did make his owne character high, they sayd Philisides was himself to, but it was all a guesse. He made it young, and diying desired his folies might be burnt.

Some others I have heard guessed at, but have forgot. Therfore canot

satisfie the lady, which I would for your sake.

Mr. Purcell attacked the evidence of this letter upon three grounds: (1) Aubrey is notoriously unreliable; (2) Tyndale could not have known anyone close to Sidney or his times; and (3) Tyndale himself says that "all I know of it is not worth anything," and again, "but it was all a guesse." Let us consider these objections. (1) Aubrey's unreliability has nothing to do with the case, since what we have is a letter of D. Tyndale's. The only way Aubrey gets into this is that the letter was addressed to him and preserved by him; furthermore, the place of Tyndale's writing, "Langton in Lincolneshire," is entered upon the letter in Aubrey's hand. Thus one is free to argue that the entire letter is a forgery by Aubrey, or that Aubrey's entry to the effect that it was written from Langton is false; but aside from these two suggestions, nothing said about Aubrey's unreliability can be relevant. (2) Assuming that Tyndale was seventy-five years old, he might have served as a boy of thirteen or fourteen in the household of Sidney's brother Robert (d. 1626), or as a boy of seventeen in the household of Sidney's nephew, William Herbert, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1630), or as a man of thirty-seven in the household of another nephew, Philip Her-

bert, Earl of Pembroke (d. 1650). But supposing that he was but fifty years of age when he wrote, he still could have known well, whether as servant or in another capacity, either the last-named nephew or Robert Sidney's son, also Sir Philip's nephew, Robert Sidney, Viscount Lisle and second Earl of Leicester (1595-1677). If we pass to the children of Sidney's nephews, we come upon contemporaries of Aubrey and Tyndale. (3) The third objection ignores the fact that what Tyndale is concerned with is a key to the Arcadia. Of his information concerning the Arcadia, Tyndale said, "all I know of it is not worth anything," and most students of the romance will come near to agreeing with him. Later, he says in effect that all of these identifications were mere guesses. That does not mean, however, that Tyndale reported the guesses wrongly. And to return to his first mention of Astrophel and Stella — is there any doubt that the clause concerning it is brought in merely as a way of identifying Lady Rich? Whether or not she belongs as a character in the Arcadia is as dubious as Tyndale says it is; but the statement about Astrophel and Stella is in a different category. Nor does it seem that the incidents regarding Sidney and Lord Rich were made up by Tyndale out of whole cloth. They may be wholly false; but the responsibility for inventing the falsehood is upon the members of Sidney's family whom Tyndale had known. In other words, unless we wish to argue that Tyndale, with no discernible motive, sat down and invented all the gossip he records, the letter proves, at worst, that there was talk in Sidney's family concerning Sidney and Penelope, and that this talk treated Penelope as the real Stella.

In the light of our review of the whole tradition, Tyndale's letter takes on special significance. First, if the suggestion or the tradition or the information that Stella was really Frances Walsingham was widely current when Tyndale wrote to Aubrey, then Aubrey should have heard it. It is quite evident from the state of Tyndale's letter and from the sketch of Sidney's life written by Aubrey, that if he heard this report he did not believe it. Furthermore, Anthony à Wood is in exactly the same position, as, likewise, is Tyndale. Second, the advantage of Tyndale's letter, from Aubrey's point of view and from ours, is that it plumbs the period before the "whitewashing" began; that is, it does so if we may assume that Tyndale was as old as sixty

and had heard this gossip in his youth. And in this connection it may be recalled that Anne Bradstreet's elegy also gives us evidence from family tradition. The fact seems to be that, by reason of hushing up the talk concerning Penelope Rich-Devonshire and by reason of lack of interest, as Puritanism grew, in Astrophel and Stella, memory of Penelope Rich's connection with Sidney did fade out from general knowledge, although kept fresh in family talk. There were few reference-books at the time, and in none of them was there a record of this matter.

There is one more seventeenth-century document to be reviewed, for the sake of completeness. As is well known, William Laud, long before he became Archbishop of Canterbury, was chaplain to the Earl of Devonshire, and performed the ceremonies at the illegal marriage of the Earl and Penelope Rich. For this act he observed a day of penance, on anniversaries of the marriage, for the remainder of his life. When Peter Heylyn, who for many years served as Laud's secretary, came to write the biography of his patron, he had to deal with this incident. The relevant passage follows:

This Gentleman being a younger Brother of William Lord Mountjoy, and known only by the name of Sir Charles Blunt, while his Brother lived, had bore a strong and dear affection to the Lady Penelope Daughter of Walter Earl of Essex, a Lady in whom lodged all attractive Graces of Beauty, Wit, and sweetness of Behaviour, which might render her the absolute Mistress of all Eyes and Hearts. And she so far reciprocated with him in the like affection (being a compleat and gallant man) that some assurances past between them of a future Marriage. But her friends looking on him as a younger Brother, considerable only in his depending at the Court, chose rather to dispose her in Marriage to Robert Lord Rich, a man of an independent Fortune, and a known Estate, but otherwise of an uncourtly disposition, unsociable, austere, and of no very agreeable conversation to her. Against this Blunt had nothing to plead in Bar, the promises which passed between them being made in private, no Witnesses to attest unto it, and therefore not amounting to a pre-Contract in due form of Law.

But long she had not lived in the Bed of Rich, when the old flames of her affection unto Blunt began again to kindle in her, and if the Sonet in the Arcadia, (A Neighbour mine not long ago there was, &c.) be not too generally misconstrued, she made her Husband the sole instrument to acquaint him with it: But whether it were so or not, certain it is, that having first had their

private meetings, they afterwards converst more openly and familiarly with one another, than might stand with honour unto either; . . . ¹

When we turn to "the Sonet in the Arcadia," we find that it is a rather long narrative poem recounting a fabliau-like anecdote of a husband who bade his wife to be attentive to a visiting courtier, and then, by his jealousy, put thoughts of infidelity into her heart; she tells him to send the courtier away, and to allege that he has discovered that his wife has fallen in love with their guest; later, through a cleverly contrived letter which the husband thinks the courtier wrote, the wife causes the husband to invite the courtier for an explanation. She affects anger, while the courtier reads in this letter her love for him. The husband departs, thinking that his wife's evident desire to expose her admirer is proof of her innocence, and the lovers have their will. What Heylyn tells us is that there was a general belief, or a strong current of gossip, to the effect that the infidelity of Penelope with Charles Blount (later the Earl of Devonshire) began in the same way. He does not say that Sidney was setting down, ex post facto, an account of the beginning of Penelope's liaison with Blount. If the "old" Arcadia (and this poem appears in that version) was completed by 1581, as is generally supposed, the dates are against taking the poem as a recital of history. Yet even if this poem were proved to be such a recital, it can hardly bear the load of theory based upon it by Mr. J. Brownbill, whom we met in the beginning of the present essay as an authority upon nineteenth-century criticism. One suggestion he makes is that the entire sequence of Astrophel and Stella was written by Sidney for Charles Blount, or as a poetic representation of the love of Blount for Penelope. Thus the sequence should be read as if at the beginning were the words, Carolus Bluntus loquitur. Mr. Brownbill cannot overlook the fact that the "Rich" sonnets point to Penelope (Mr. Purcell seems to have achieved uniqueness in his interpretation of these sonnets), but neither can he believe that both Charles Blount and Philip Sidney could have been in love with Penelope at the same time. For one who is able to accept this last possibility, the passage in Heylyn and the other evidence of an early affection on Blount's part present no difficulty. Heylyn tells us that in common opinion Sidney's poem told the story of

¹ Cyprianus Anglicus (1668), p. 57. Omitted from Sidney's Stella.

Penelope's infidelity with Blount. My own suggestion is that common opinion was probably wrong, at least to the extent of wrongly supposing that Sidney had written the poem as an ex-post-facto history. Yet Heylyn's statement reminds us that in some circles, and at some period or other (his *Cyprianus Anglicus* deals, for the most part, with that before 1640), people could not think of scandals connected with Penel-

ope Rich without also thinking of Sidney.

This completes our review. There doubtless exists other evidence upon the identification of Stella which is as pertinent as most of what is here set down. Mr. Purcell, by way of summarizing his chapter, "The Legend of Penelope Devereux," said: "external evidence for the identification of Stella as Penelope Devereux rests on a very uncertain tradition which first appeared in print a hundred years after Sidney's death. Earlier allusions to Stella point with far greater definiteness to Sidney's wife, Frances Walsingham." The facts are otherwise. External evidence amply complements the clear internal evidence (of the "Rich" sonnets) and shows that informed people, from 1591 onwards, thought or knew that Penelope Devereux was Sidney's Stella; such men as Gervase Markham (1597), John Florio (1603), and Matthew Gwynn (1603) made more or less open statements which can bear no other interpretations; Richard Barnfield, Henry Parrot, and John Ford wrote allusive works or passages for which the Stella-Penelope identification furnishes the most satisfactory exegesis; Thomas Campion in 1619 explicitly pointed to Penelope as the British star and connected her with the loves of Astrophel, veiling his statement only by putting it in the Latin tongue. In the period of the Civil Wars and the Commonwealth, the knowledge of this identification may have faded out except among members of Sidney's family, but from that source we have clear testimony. As to the identification of Stella with Frances Walsingham, this seems to rest entirely upon the gallant effort of Spenser and Bryskett (and perhaps Breton) to keep clear the reputation of their dead friend (in the spirit of his own recantation of amor-

¹ One piece of such evidence was published while this article was in proof. Katherine Koller, "Identifications in *Colin Clout's Come Home Againe*," M.L.N., L (1935), 155-58, discusses annotations written at some time between 1605 and 1650 in a copy of Spenser's *Colin Clout* (1595). She says (p. 157): "The annotator follows tradition in calling Stella 'Ye Lady Riche' in *Colin Clout* and also in *Astrophel* (lines 36, 55)."

ous writing), and to pay a compliment to the living Frances Walsingham; and not until the Puritan period, when the other tradition had grown dim, did anyone take seriously the statements or the implications of these elegists. Furthermore, the sentence just quoted, "Earlier allusions to Stella point with far greater definiteness to Sidney's wife, Frances Walsingham," comes with peculiar weakness from a writer who has said, eleven pages earlier, "we must note that the Stella of Spenser's Astrophel is removed from all reality by Spenser's narrative of her death and burial with Sidney," and who sets down as the principal conclusion of his study that "our knowledge of Sidney's character, and the intimacy of the details recounted, prevent our accepting an autobiographical interpretation of Astrophel and Stella."



The Army and the Downfall of Richard Cromwell

By GODFREY DAVIES

HE downfall of the Protectorate of Richard Cromwell was due to a military revolution. Its history involves three parties, the Protector, the army, and the Parliament. As the third is not concerned until its opening at the beginning of 1659, the period falls naturally into two sections. The first lasted from September to December, 1658, was marked by rather obscure unrest in the army, and ended with the apparent reconciliation of Richard with Disbrowe, Fleetwood, and other army leaders, and the acquiescence of the junior officers and the rank and file in the status quo. The second extended to the fall of the Protectorate in the spring of 1659 and was complicated by the meeting of Parliament and its hostility to military rule. Its dissolution by Richard at the demand of the army leaders was virtually the end of the Protectorate.

During the Puritan revolution the army had occupied a position unique in English history. Legally, it formed a part of the state, and a clause in the most recent constitution, the Humble Petition and Advice, appropriated for the payment of the armed forces a million pounds out of the £1,300,000 constant revenue allotted to the Protectorate. Politically, the real sovereignty in England had resided in the army since 1647: its wishes had prevailed at decisive moments, such as the execution of Charles I in 1649, the expulsion of the Rump in 1653, and Oliver Cromwell's decision not to accept the title of king in 1657. The relation between Oliver and the army has been well compared to that of a prime minister and his political adherents. The

² C. H. Firth, The Last Years of the Protectorate (1909), I, 138.

An officer truly told the Parliament: "Your army is a main ingredient in your government." (Diary of Thomas Burton, ed. J. T. Rutt [1828], IV, 450.) (In the citations in this article, it is to be understood that, unless otherwise indicated, the place of publication is London or is not given on the title-page.)

senior officers correspond to his chief supporters, the junior officers to the back-benchers, and the regiments to constituencies. Like the head of a party, Oliver could not afford to risk alienating his followers. Although there had been moments of tension between him and the army, he had never lost its confidence and had been able either to conciliate or to remove dissentients. He owed his power to his military genius, which had won him prestige and popularity among all ranks, and to his excellent judgment of men. He understood the personnel of the New Model Army better than anyone else, and could differentiate honest, if extreme, convictions from ambition disguised as religious zeal. Even so, although he could rely on the loyalty of the army during his lifetime, he had been unable to weld it into a harmonious whole. On his death he left it rent into factions, hitherto kept in check only by his personal influence.

On his succession, therefore, Richard came into a damnosa hereditas. By inclination a country gentleman, he now assumed a dual rôle — the headship of the state and the leadership of the army. Unfortunately for Richard, both the state and the army were in a transitional stage, and he was ill-fitted by character and training to cope with the very difficult situation largely created by his father's efforts to give the Protectorate a more permanent basis than armed force.

Since 1653 Oliver had been slowly reverting to the old constitution of England, and by 1658 there was a Protector whose court was much like a king's, and a parliament of two houses. These tendencies seemed reactionary to many of his army, who felt that he had betrayed the "good old cause" for which they had fought. Oliver had weeded from the higher ranks the most extreme political or religious fanatics,² but there were plenty of them left among the lower officers, and, though they were kept in check under stern discipline, they offered receptive soil for propaganda that the army had a divine call to reform England and to coerce an untoward generation. Moreover, arrears of pay made the rank and file predisposed to follow their officers into the field of politics.

² These dismissals no doubt explain the anxiety of officers that no one be cashiered except by court-martial. Cf. infra, p. 146.

¹ These factions were too ill-defined in September, 1658, to be analyzed here, but they are described later, when they had assumed a permanent form. Cf. infra, p. 145.

The discontent was not likely to burst forth into revolutionary action so long as Oliver lived, because the soldiers would not turn their arms against the general who was largely responsible for their very existence and had led them from victory to victory. Therefore, republicans, saints (as many sectaries called themselves), Fifth-Monarchy Men, and Levellers all had had to submit to the establishment of the Protectorate or resign their commissions. Nevertheless, Oliver realized that the Protectorate had no chance of survival if it remained dependent upon his personal popularity. He saw that the headship of the state signified little in comparison with the power conferred by the command of the army, so long as officers felt at liberty to criticize any measures that they thought contrary to the teaching of the Bible or to the principles they had upheld on the battlefield. Therefore, Oliver had come to rely more and more upon those content to serve any efficient de facto government. Men like Monck and Mountague, Broghil and Fauconberg, Ingoldsby and Lockhart, were not rigid Puritans or radicals, bent on making a new heaven or a new earth, but men of moderate opinions, eager to support the Protectorate so long as the only alternatives were anarchy or a restoration to be effected by Scots anxious to impose an intolerant presbyterianism, or by foreign armies.

Unlike officers of the type of Harrison or Lambert, they could be trusted to carry out orders without question, and resembled professional soldiers in that they expected to obey the commands of the government that employed them. They were willing to serve Richard as faithfully as Oliver, if he provided the same resolute leadership; failing this, they would be likely to submit to any form of government that promised to be permanent, though their natural inclinations were for a monarchy. Their prominence at court gave umbrage to Richard's relatives, Disbrowe and Fleetwood, and their faction, who were jealous of those they regarded as usurpers of the place in the national counsels that they themselves coveted. Similarly, the promotion of such worldly men, in an army that prided itself on its godliness, was a stum-

blingblock to the unco guid.

Nevertheless, Richard should have realized that his one chance of success was to rely upon men like Monck and to intrust to them the further expulsion of extremists from the army, in order to remodel it

into a professional force content to obey orders - if regularly paid. This proviso imposed a real difficulty, however, for the ordinary revenue was insufficient for the upkeep of so large a force. There seem to have been only two alternatives: to summon Parliament in the hope that generous appropriations would be forthcoming, or to reduce the army and reorganize the militia to safeguard the Protectorate against its many enemies, foreign and domestic. Either course was fraught with danger, for a freely elected parliament was almost certain to be antimilitarist and averse to heavier taxation, and the army was unlikely to acquiesce in its own reduction, unless its arrears were paid in full. If, at the outset of his Protectorate, Richard had adopted Monck's advice to combine every two regiments into one and had promptly summoned Parliament, extraordinary grants might have been made for the disbandment of half the army. However, when Parliament actually met in January, 1659, the opportunity had slipped by, and agitation in the army had greatly increased the difficulties attendant upon any attempts to solve the fundamental problem that always confronted both Oliver and Richard: how to retain the loyalty of the army while substituting for military rule a civilian control of the state.

The army's dominant position in the state is shown by the care taken to insure its approval before the council ventured to proclaim Oliver's successor, although Richard had been nominated in accordance with the constitution as defined in the Humble Petition and Advice. The officers, we are told, having resolved beforehand that it was in the public interest and their own to submit to whomsoever Oliver should name as his successor, unanimously accepted Richard. Nevertheless, immediately there were intimations and forebodings of discontent and opposition in the army. On September 7 Thurloe, the Secretary of State, told Henry Cromwell, the Lord Deputy of Ireland and the Protector's brother, that there were "some secret murmurings in the army, as if His Highnes were not generall of the army, as his father was; and would looke upon him and the army as divided, and as if the conduct of the army should be elsewhere, and in other hands: but I am

¹ Thurloe to Capt. Stoakes, Sept. 9/19, 1658. (Public Record Office, S. P. 78, Vol. 114, fol. 153; The Clarke Papers, ed. C. H. Firth, III [1899], 162.)

not able to say what this will come to." The Lord keeps the army in a quiet condicion," wrote Fleetwood the same day to Henry. Whether the secretary knew more than the general or whether the general was wilfully blind, it is not easy to say. All seemed to wear the face of peace, Fauconberg warned his brother-in-law, Henry Cromwell, on September 14. "But certainly somwhat is brewing under hand. A caball there is of persons, and great ones, held very closely, resolved, it's feared, to rule themselves, or set all on fire." 3

Staunch adherents of the Protectorate seem not to have been surprised at these manifestations of restlessness in the army. Monck, the commander in chief in Scotland, had scarcely received the news of Richard's accession before he sent his confidant, Thomas Clarges, to London, in order to advise the Protector on the proper way to handle the military situation. He suggested that throughout the army two regiments should be reduced to one. Thus, not only would much expense be saved but also an opportunity provided for getting rid of disaffected officers. He realized that his counsel would seem bold, but he was certain "there is not an officer in the army, upon any discontent, that has interest enough to draw two men after him, if he be out of place, as His Highnes may remember by a late example." ⁴ Clarges reports that this daring plan was well liked, ⁵ but it was not acted upon.

Although the divisions in the army and council were sufficiently noticeable to attract comment by outsiders, an effort was made to keep up appearances. On September 18 Fleetwood, acting on behalf of the officers about London, presented an address to Richard in the name of the armies of the three kingdoms. Beginning with a pane-

² *Ibid.*, p. 375.

3 Ibid., p. 386. Fauconberg's letters were written partly in cipher, generally deciphered at the time. This accounts for their jerky style.

⁴ Ibid., p. 387. The reference is to the dismissal of Packer and other officers by Oliver Cromwell, in February, 1658. (Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate, II, 45.)

5 Sir Richard Baker, A Chronicle of the Kings of England (1679), p. 636.

6 Calendar of the Clarendon State Papers, ed. F. J. Routledge (Oxford) [henceforth referred

to as Clarendon], IV (1932), 87.

¹ A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, ed. Thomas Birch (1742) [henceforth referred to as Thurloe], VII, 374.

⁷ Fleetwood read the address to the 220 commissioned officers then in London, by whom it was passed unanimously. (Mabbott to Henry Cromwell, Sept. 21 [British Museum, Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 104; Clarke Papers, III, 164; Calendar of State Papers, Venetian, XXXI,

gyric of his father, it hailed his accession and promised him support. It sketched the policy which he ought to follow — pursue the interest of God and his people, intrust military commands to officers of honest, godly principles, and fill the council with men of known righteousness and soberness. It promised fidelity to him, and to the Humble Pe-

tition and Advice as the basis of the government."

Richard's reception of the address gave great satisfaction to the officers. "It is our duty to be earnest for him," Fleetwood wrote, "that he may be kept up to walke in his father's paths with that integrity, as may manifest by what spirit he is ledde forth by. I neade not tell you, what the temptations of such a station is: he hath hitherto much exceeded expectation, and did speak heartily to old freinds." 2 Fauconberg thought the address "pretty well featur'd." 3 It "promises all good in shew," said he, "but in the end I feare wil prove a serpent.... Matters certainly grow wors and wors every day. Suddenly clashing like to be in the councel. None hereafter to be admitted members there, or of the army that pronounce not shibboleth. The present aime conceived to exclude Fauconberg and Broghil from councel. Henry Cromwell may imagine the sad consequences of this, and that they wil not rest here." Signs of this exclusiveness had already been shown. In the prayer meetings of the army during Oliver's illness, Ingoldsby and Fauconberg were not summoned.5 And perhaps the fact that Richard had immediately after his accession given Mountague a regiment of horse, helps to explain the origin of the

1657-1659 (1931), 248].) An eloquent protest against the address, by an officer at Plymouth, is printed in Thurloe, VII, 460-61. It states the views of a commonwealthsman clearly.

MSS, 823, fol. 100.)

¹ Text in *Mercurius Politicus*, Sept. 16/23. Separate addresses had been presented by the armies in Flanders (*ibid.*, Oct. 7/14), in Ireland (*ibid.*, Sept. 23/30; Thurloe, VII, 400, 409, 426), and in Scotland, where there were whisperings that there should be a general appointed to give commissions — but on September 21 Monck was able to assure Henry Cromwell that the officers and men under his command were of a "chearfull inclination" to serve the new Protector (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 106; Thurloe, VII, 411, 414, 416, 424).

² Thurloe, VII, 405-6. Whalley wrote in a similar tone to Henry Cromwell. (Lansdowne

³ Thurloe, VII, p. 406. He states (*ibid.*) that "the close contrivers were Fleetwood, Sydenham, Berry, Huson. At last Whalley and Goff were cald in; all others ignorant til offerd to be signed."

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 406–7. ⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 365.

movement to confine the commissions to the godly - a condition

that would have debarred Mountague.1

On September 28 Fauconberg wrote still more sternly. Whatever others might tell Henry, he is more and more confirmed in the opinion that unless prompt action is taken they will be ruined quickly. The cabal of discontented officers gains ground apace and has induced the London militia to conform to their design, and they will suddenly pull off the mask. They are demanding things which no magistrate in the world can grant without divesting himself of all but the semblance of authority. Some officers have dared already to move His Highness to surrender to Fleetwood his power of disposing of all commands in the army, but this is still a great secret.2 A false brother among them tells me all that they do, even their closest debates. The next appointment of a field officer made by the Protector will certainly call forth a remonstrance from the army. Unless the Protector can draw strength to London, and timely, all is lost. The discontents are resolved to have in their own hands the power of giving commissions, and will suffer no addition to the council, because they cannot get the Protector's consent for such candidates as they desire. In short, the army is monstrous high.3

Matters went so far that a petition was drawn up, though not signed, that Fleetwood might be made commander in chief and give commissions to all except field officers, and that no one should be cashiered except by a court-martial.⁴ A meeting of officers on the subject took place at St. James's on October 8.⁵ Fleetwood told them Richard had refused to part with his authority over the army, or with his right to grant commissions, yet would willingly advise with him on

Appointment dated Sept. 16. (Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1658-1659, p. 140;

Clarke Papers, III, 164; Venetian Calendar, p. 254.)

3 Thurloe, VII, 413-14.

5 A Friday. (Clarke Papers, III, 165.)

² This secret became known to a royalist (Clarendon, IV, 102-3) and to the Venetian resident (Venetian Calendar, pp. 254-55 [dispatch of Oct. 15/25]). According to the latter source, Richard remonstrated with the officers, and then, learning that they had not dispersed but merely gone to Fleetwood's, followed them and delivered a severe verbal castigation. This is not supported by any other authority and must be considered doubtful.

⁴ News-letter of Oct. 9 (Clarke Papers, III, 165); F. P. G. Guizot, History of Richard Cromwell, tr. A. R. Scoble (1856), I, 246; news-letter of Oct. 12 (Historical Manuscripts Commission, Fifth Report [1876], p. 146).

any question concerning the army. Other officers then spoke of the dangerous consequences of petitioning at such a time, and Berry of the good intentions of the petitioners; and then the meeting broke up with all apparently satisfied. Fleetwood sent Henry Cromwell an account of the petition and its origin, and revealed that it was started by the inferior officers, who later informed the field officers. He added that Richard had granted substantially what the officers wanted, except in form, and that they were content.2 It is clear that the junior officers were setting too quick a pace for their seniors, that the agitation came from below, and that it was not sternly discouraged by the colonels.3 In Fauconberg's opinion, firmness rather than conciliation was required, for, if orders were given, his regiment of honest men would guard the leaders of the army faction to the Tower, although the lieutenant of that fortress is apparently hostile. He concludes with the prayer that the nation will be delivered from those that, under a cloak of godliness, are in fact serving their own lusts.4

Further agitation found vent in a meeting of all the officers in the chapel at Whitehall, when the former demands were reiterated and emphasized by the citation of cases of alleged victimization. However, the great speech by Goffe against further petitioning was received with general approval, and for the present it seemed as if "the devil is laid." ⁵ On October 18 Richard called the general officers together and conferred with them. He showed resolution in refusing to part with the command of the army, and conciliation in announcing that he did not intend to make any changes among the officers without consulting Fleetwood. ⁶ The conference is said to have ended satisfactorily. ⁷ Shortly after or simultaneously Fleetwood received a new

² Oct. 12. (Thurloe, VII, 436.) Later, it is said, Fleetwood complained that the promises he had been authorized to make in the Protector's name had not been kept. (Bordeaux to Mazarin, Nov. 1/11 [Guizot, I, 251].)

I Ibid.

³ Thurloe, VII, 452. The Venetian resident mentions the report that Disbrowe and Fleetwood had started the trouble underhand in order to ascertain what the real convictions of the officers were and how far their protestations [? of fidelity to the Protectorate] were to be trusted. (Venetian Calendar, p. 257.)

⁴ Letter of Oct. 12. (Thurloe, VII, 437-38.) John Barkstead was lieutenant of the Tower. ⁵ R. Temple to Sir R. Leveson, Oct. 18. (Hist. MSS Com., Fifth Report, p. 172.)

⁶ Same to same, Oct. 23. (Ibid.)

⁷ Clarke Papers, III, 165. On this occasion Richard seems to have made the speech printed in Thurloe (VII, 447-49) but not dated (cf. p. 452).

commission as lieutenant general, which was like the old one, with the exception that he was appointed by the advice of the council as required by Article 8 of the Humble Petition and Advice. Fauconberg thought Richard had lost a great chance. Writing on October 19 he said that the Protector had missed one of the fairest opportunities that was ever put into a young prince's hands to settle the nation and himself. "Desbrowe, Berry, Couper, and inferiour officers, wors then themselves, if possible, have dayly meetings. I wish we had so too; but that is our weaknes." Fauconberg ended by asserting that he would quit his regiment but for his hope to serve Henry with it upon a good account.²

The recipient of most of this information summed up the situation,

as he saw it, to his brother, the Protector:

I cannot tell what to advise Your Highness upon this sad occasion, though I confess 'tis no more than I looked for. Only I had some hopes, it might have been prevented, by keeping all officers at their respective charges. But as things now stand, I doubt the flood is so strong, you can neither stem it, nor come to an anchor, but must be content to go adrift, and expect the ebb. I thought those, whom my father had raised from nothing, would not so soon have forgot him, and endeavour to destroy his family, before he is in his grave. Why do I say, I thought, when I know ambition and affectation of empire never had any bounds? I cannot think these men will ever rest, till they are in the saddle; and we have of late years been so used to changes, that it will be but a 9 days wonder.³

On the same day he dispatched a strong remonstrance to his brotherin-law, Fleetwood, in which he asks some searching questions:

How came these 2 or 300 officers together? If they came of their own heads, the being absent from their charge without licence would have flown in their face, when they petitioned for a due observance of martiall discipline. If they were called together, were they not also taught what to say and do? If they were called, was it with His Highness's privity? If they met without leave in so great a number, were they told their error? I shall not meddle with the matter of their petition, though some things in it do unhandsomely reflect, not only upon his present, but his late Highness. . . . Remember

² Thurloe, VII, 450-51. Cf. Clarendon, IV, 111.

¹ Clarke Papers, III, 165-66. Cf. Hart's appointment (ibid., p. 167).

³ Henry to Richard Cromwell, Oct. 20. (Thurloe, VII, 453.)

what has always befallen imposing spiritts. Will not the loins of an imposing Independent or Anabaptist be as heavy as the loins of an imposing prelate or presbyter? And is it a dangerous error, that dominion is founded in grace, when it is held by the church of Rome, and a sound principle, when it is held by the fifth-monarchy? Dear brother, let us not fall into the sins of other men, lest we partake of their plagues. Let it be so carryed, that all the people of God, though under different forms, yea, even those whom you count without, may enjoy their birth-right and civil liberty, and that no one party may tread upon the neck of another. . . . Let us take heed of arbitrary power. Let us be governed by the known laws of the land, and let all things be kept in their proper channels; and let the army be so governed, that the world may never hear of them, unless there be occasion to fight. And truly, brother, you must pardon me, if I say, God and man may require this duty at your hand, and lay all miscarriages in the army, in point of discipline, at your door.

To this letter Fleetwood replied 2 as follows: When I understood why the officers wanted to hold a meeting, I asked them not to hold it and they obeyed. I called together all the officers on Friday, when I said what I had reason to say — and other officers spoke after me — and then the gathering dispersed, satisfied. It is true that I saw the petition, but I do not recall anything that reflected upon either the late or present Protector. I hope we shall not be judged to slight His Highness if some set their minds on the best way to preserve the honest interest in the army, since this might be unavoidably neglected by the Protector, whose time is so occupied with other urgent business. The framers of the petition therefore desired that certain officers might be ordered to recommend the most suitable persons to fill vacancies whenever they occur. I hope this would not dim His Highness's prestige, for it would be done by his authority and the commissions would be issued by him. After all, the proposal is no novelty, for to my knowledge the late Protector intended to adopt some such plan, when he found that on account of other state affairs he could not give as much time as formerly to the army. Besides, the proposal suggests less than is actually done in the other armies under the Protector's control.3

² Ibid., p. 500.

Henry Cromwell to Charles Fleetwood, Oct. 20. (Ibid., p. 454.)

³ Those of Scotland, Ireland, and Flanders.

"Things are still at a stand," wrote Fauconberg on October 26, "have a shew of quiet; but in truth any thing rather. The councel doe just nothing, think not eyther how to reconcile things, or quell the height of sticklers in time, whome onely our negligence makes considerable. If these be let alone, wel disposed people will at length gather to them, if for nothing else, yet to make their owne peace; and when once in, not to be recover'd againe." 1 November 2 he reported a seeming calm, adding that "something is now done to keepe them so." 2 Henry Cromwell, giving an account to Broghil, said the storm was chiefly directed against Fauconberg, Thurloe, and Mountague. "For ought I hear, His Highness hath carryed himself with prudence and resolution enough. . . . Some say there is fire yet in the ashes; but Fleetwood, Disbrowe and Sydenham say, there was never any thing in the whole matter." ³ Thurloe protested he could not understand the origin of the agitation. "Sometymes it seemed to be allayed, and a satisfaction given. Then againe the fire burst out; and at this tyme new agitations are againe on foot; and at a late meetinge of some of the principall officers and some of the councell to speake about this affaire, . . . with a minde to declare (as was sayd) the grounds of the dissatisfaction," the complaint was that Richard relied too exclusively upon the advice of Pierrepont and Thurloe.4 The latter continued that when he heard this, and perceived also that it was industriously spread amongst the officers of the army that he was a very evil councilor, he offered to retire from office, hoping it might be a means to quiet things, and improve relations with the army; 5 but the resigna-

¹ Thurloe, VII, 462.

3 Thurloe, VII, 490. For other comments on Richard's handling of the situation, see

ibid., pp. 491, 498; Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 145.

² Ibid., p. 491. Probably the reference is to the efforts made to pay the army. (Clarke Papers, III, 166; Venetian Calendar, pp. 255, 259.) At the council board, on October 23, Richard expressed resentment at the great arrears of pay due to the army, and an order was passed to supply money to the treasurer at war. (Mercurius Politicus, Oct. 21/28; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1658–1659, p. 164.) Bordeaux, on October 21/31, wrote that Fauconberg was the man who had given Fleetwood and Disbrowe most offense, and that the latter two were inspired by jealousy. (Guizot, I, 248. Cf. Clarendon, IV, 113.)

⁴ A royalist, writing February 13, 1659, states that Pierrepont governs Thurloe, and Thurloe, Richard. (Clarendon State Papers [Oxford], III [1786], 425. Cf. Clarendon, IV, III; Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, ed. C. H. Firth [1906], p. 304.)

⁵ Thurloe, VII, 490. Cf. p. 507. An anonymous report, of November 5, describes the

tion was not accepted. In a second letter Thurloe dwelt on the policy pursued by Richard since his accession, praising his avoidance of offense to any and his adherence to his father's ways. Richard, he said,

hath profest to me, that the greatest trouble he had was to see, that great endeavours were used to perswade many godly men, that he loved them not; and that they could not trust themselves and their concernments with hym; ... I heare, that the single thinge, which is now stood upon, is, that my Lord Fleetwood be made comander in cheife of all the forces of England and Scotland; and the reason alleadged for this is, that His Highnes might not put another over his head, which they say is resolved upon. His Highnes did assure the generall officers long since, before these thinges were talk'd of in the army, that he had noe such intention, nor would not; but that I perceive doth not satisfie; and yet his beinge made comander in chiefe doth not secure that at all. And now those, who have stirred in these matters, are made to beleeve, that they must prosecute what they have begun, or they are lost.

Writing on November 16 Clarges regarded the crisis as over. "His Highnes, by his moderation, hath pretty well allayed the distemper, and I hope there will be no eruption." Thurloe the same day was less hopeful. "Sometymes the fire seemes to be out; then it kindles againe." Great dissatisfaction remains and there are endeavors to promote a new remonstrance. Fauconberg, in a letter of about November 23, was also pessimistic:

The factious party, discovering themselves not strong enough to carry on designes alone, are treating with the [commonwealthsmen] the [under officers] and that rabble, and, wee heare, wil put it to a push that way. Fleetwood and Desbrowe are the heads. The Protector keeps his ground; but truly gets none of them; for things run in the same channel, managed by the same hands as formerly; . . . Nothing would conduce to publick good more

² Ibid., p. 497. Cf. Hist. MSS Com., Ninth Report (1884), p. 444.
² Thurlee, VII. 511. The Venetian ambassador thought the same (Colombia)

² Thurloe, VII, 511. The Venetian ambassador thought the same (*Calendar*, pp. 259, 261), and also noted that meetings still continued, though only once a week.

state of parties: the Protector had on his side half the council (Lawrence, Mountague, Fiennes, Jones, Thurloe, and Wolseley) and eight regiments. (*Ibid.*, p. 495.)

³ Thurloe, VII, 510. Cf. p. 550. Probably Thurloe had in mind the meeting at St. James's on November 12, where changes in the army were condemned "as if good men were put out, and worse put in." (Clarke Papers, III, 169.)

then some attempt of theirs, if it please God to make it unsuccessful. The Protector made a speech to all the officers last Friday, but with very great moderation and kindness.

In this letter Fauconberg urged Henry Cromwell to abandon the hope he had cherished for the last two months of visiting England. Such a visit, he said, was opposed by all parties. "They that hate you feare you too, and therefore oppose it. They that love you have apprehensions, neither Ireland nor Henry Cromwell are secure, if separated." 2 A few days before, Thurloe had written to the same effect. "I am sure your beinge in the head of soe good an army hath tended very much to our preservation, and render'd designes against the present government the more difficult in the execution." 3 Henry himself had confessed to his brother Richard, a month previously, that he was "almost afraid to come to Your Highness, lest I should be kept there, and so Your Highness lose this army, which, for aught I know, is the only stay you have." 4 The importance of this correspondence lies in its revelation of the army leaders' bitterness against Henry and of their great influence, which was so potent that the Protector's brother felt that he might be seized and detained if he set foot in his native land.

However, for the present, the tension was relaxed, and the successful outcome of the meeting of November 19 averted for two months the danger of the army's direct intervention in politics. Thurloe writes complacently that "Those little motions which were in the army are all quietted and things blessed be God in good order." Perhaps proof of the reconciliation between the army officers and the Protector can be detected in the resolution to call a parliament, which was taken on November 29,6 for the army was supposed to have been

Thurloe, VII, 528-29. This happened at the meeting at Whitehall on November 19 (Clarke Papers, III, 168-69), where the speech is outlined. Cf. Mercurius Politicus, Nov. 18/25, for a different version. Cf. Guizot, I, 264. Whitelocke, who places the meeting on the 20th, says that the officers made large professions of loyalty and obedience to Richard, who "courted them at a high rate." (Memorials of the English Affairs [Oxford, 1853], IV, 338.)

² Thurloe, VII, 528.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 510. 4 *Ibid.*, p. 454.

⁵ Letter to Capt. John Stoakes, Nov. 25. (S. P. 78, Vol. 114, fol. 170.)

⁶ Thurloe, VII, 541, 550; Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1658-1659, p. 201.

against this. In December almost the only news of the army is that two troopers were cashiered for petitioning for an increase of three-pence a day in their pay. The explanation of the "great calme" would seem to be that all factions were busy with the parliamentary elections, which were marked, says Thurloe, by "as great striving as ever was in England." The one disturbing feature was the quarrel between Disbrowe and Mountague, the former charging the latter with having conspired to kidnap him and Fleetwood. As the accusation was based upon a letter whose author Disbrowe refused to name, it is not surprising that the Protector took Mountague's side. The result was probably to increase Disbrowe's hostility to the Protector. The year closed with the Protectorate apparently firmly established. Hyde says that the royalists were rather the worse for Oliver Cromwell's death, for owing to the great calm people imagined that the nation was united and that the King had very few friends.

With the beginning of the new year there enters the third party to the series of events that led to the downfall of the Protectorate — Parliament. Its session tended to complicate the relations of Richard and the army in several ways: its recognition of the Protector, with his semi-regal prerogatives, and of a nominated second chamber, infuriated the zealous republicans; its threat to revive religious intolerance alarmed the sectaries; and its antimilitarist attitude and its failure to vote supplies to satisfy arrears of pay angered the whole army.

These divergences between Parliament and the army were partly inherent in the nature of the Protectorate and partly due to the result of the elections. The majority of the new members were men of moderate opinions, presbyterians rather than sectaries, likely to favor the Protectorate, but there was an intransigent minority. A detailed analysis is impossible here, so it must suffice to follow a contemporary, who labels members as old cavaliers, new courtiers, and common-

² Thurloe, VII, 545; Clarke Papers, III, 170 n.

The Memoirs of Edmund Ludlow, ed. C. H. Firth (Oxford, 1894), II, 46.

³ Thurloe, VII, 575.

⁴ Ibid

⁵ Bordeaux to Mazarin, Dec. 6/16. (Guizot, I, 271, 273-74; Clarendon, IV, 118, 122.) A royalist writer notes that it was Disbrowe rather than Fleetwood who was irreconcilable in the following April. (Clarendon, IV, 186.)

⁶ Clarendon State Papers, III, 422; Clarendon, IV, 131.

wealthsmen or republicans. The last were very much "the most inconsiderable as to number compared with either of the other," but the ability of their leaders, as Hesilrige, Scot, and Vane, helped to compensate for their fewness. As was usually the case in a seventeenth-century legislature, there was a considerable number of members without any very definite convictions—"moderates," a royalist agent terms them.² They occupied a middle position between Richard's supporters and the republicans, and in the long run they held the balance of power. Probably in January only a few of them were royalists at heart, but the intransigence of the army and the weakness of the government gradually convinced them that the only alternative to military rule was the restoration of the Stuarts.

It is curious that by this time the factions in the army had also crystallized roughly into three divisions: 3 the Protector's supporters, including Fauconberg, Mountague, Ingoldsby, Goffe, Whalley, Howard, Broghil, and Philip Jones; the Wallingford House 4 party, comprising Fleetwood, Disbrowe, Sydenham, Clark, Kelsey, and Berry; and the commonwealthsmen or republicans, Ashfield, Fitch, and Robert Lilburne. The history of England during Richard's Pro-

tectorate largely consists of the interaction of these groups.

The renewed restlessness in the army coincided with the meeting of Parliament on January 27, 1659. It is probable that this agitation had been fostered by civilians. Certainly, there was ill omen in the activity of the London Anabaptists, at this time, in collecting signatures to the very petition whose presentation Oliver Cromwell had forestalled by abruptly dissolving Parliament in February, 1658.5 When the petitioners appeared at Westminster, the republican members were anxious they should be cordially received. "There are some petitioners at the door," said Neville. "All have honest, old faces. I desire they may be called in." Another member of similar political

3 The council was similarly divided, but the factions there are of importance only because they tended to paralyze executive action.

4 Fleetwood's residence.

Letter of Nehemiah Bourne, in *Clarke Papers*, III, 209-10. The "old cavaliers" were those called moderates above; the "new courtiers" were the supporters of the Protectorate.

2 Clarendon State Papers, III, 432; Clarke Papers, III, 176.

⁵ Thurloe, VII, 617; Clarke Papers, III, 180, 182; Firth, Last Years of the Protectorate, II, 30-41.

views said that he was glad to see the people in love with their representatives again, and Vane and others spoke to the same effect. The majority, however, was by no means pleased, and insisted on a postponement. Six days later a large crowd assembled when Samuel Moyer, a survivor from Barebones' Parliament,2 presented the petition, after venting what an opponent called "a great deal of cant language." The same critic notes that the document "was very bulky in respect of the number of hands, principally levelling at the two great stakes, the militia and negative voice; and that no officer be removed, but by a council of war." 3 The petition was undoubtedly intended as a republican manifesto, for it was directed to the Parliament of the Commonwealth of England, thus ignoring the Protectorate altogether.

An animated debate ensued whether the thanks of the House should be given to the petitioners, but in the end this was negatived by a majority of ninety. Members voted that, having already considered some of the particulars mentioned, they would in due time take up such

others as were fit.4

Simultaneously, a petition was circulated in the army, although no details of its content are known. It is reasonable to assume, however, that it was similar to the Anabaptists' petition and that it demanded that no officer should be cashiered except by court-martial. The Protector did his best to still the discontent and warned a meeting of officers at Fleetwood's residence to be prudent and careful in drafting their petition. He added — if one may believe a royalist report that he would only part with the generalship and his life together.5

² Burton, III, 152–55.

Burton, III, 288-89; Venetian Calendar, p. 292. The "negative voice" was the Protec-

tor's power of veto.

4 Commons Journals, VII, 604.

² According to Francis Aungier, the petition came only from the "Prayse God Barebones gang" and was signed by thousands of hands. (Feb. 15, 1658/9 [Lansdowne MSS, 823,

⁵ Clarke Papers, III, 182; Clarendon State Papers, III, 425-26. A royalist expresses the opinion that "if this petition of the army goes on, the Houses will not signify much after a while. The Protector allready relyes upon the great officers of the army, and the republicans on the under officers more than upon the votes of either party. But it is thought the Protector will be mistaken in some of those he relyes upon, if the other party appears any whit considerable." (Barwick to Hyde, Feb. 16 [Thurloe, VII, 615].)

To sidetrack the petition, on or about February 14 a committee fairly representative of the three sections in the army was appointed "to consider of something, in case itt might bee seasonable to offer any thinge to the Parliament." This vague formula sufficed to allay unrest for a month or so. The Protector succeeded in conciliating the higher officers, but their inferiors remained sympathetic to the republicans. In fact, there was already a divided interest between the grandees (Wallingford House party) and the junior officers. Moreover, it is significant that speculation was rife as to the fidelity of some of those upon whom the Protector relied. It is likely, as a royalist agent suggests, that at this time Fleetwood favored a mere titular Protector, and that the expectation that he and Disbrowe would be the real influence in the government accounts for their reconciliation with Richard.2 The last named seems to have realized how frail a hold he had upon the army, for he tried to win popularity in various ways, such as attendance when regiments were paid; but according to the French ambassador, who records these caresses, the attitude of the army remained unchanged.3 During the rest of February and March the petition seems to have been neglected, but much happened in the course of these months to change for the worse the relations between the army and the Protector and Parliament.

Both the official position and the personality of the Protector were abhorrent to the straiter brethren. The deep-rooted objection to government by a single person, which had been the obstacle to Oliver Cromwell's accepting the crown, was just as vehement against the Protectorate of his son. Unlike his father, Richard had not shared many triumphant campaigns with the soldiery and so had no claim to their allegiance on the score of common dangers overcome. A royalist notes that "many of the officers only call R. Cromwell the young gentleman, and say he never drew sword for the Commonwealth." Furthermore, his character contained no trace of the religious fervor that inspired his father, and his religion, though sincere, had none of the extravagant enthusiasm prevalent among the junior officers, at least,

¹ Clarke Papers, III, 182; Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 223.

² Thurloe, VII, 615-16; Clarendon, IV, 152, 158, 170-71; Guizot, I, 304, 306-8, 314, 317.

³ Guizot, I, 321, 324, 345. ⁴ Clarendon, IV, 100.

of the army. In fact, in the eyes of the godly in the army Richard remained a backslider. Two incidents were fatal to his reputation among the more extreme officers. The first occurred when a cornet in Ingoldsby's regiment complained of the wicked life led by the major of the regiment. After an altercation Richard is reported to have said:

"You article against your major because he is for me? You are a company of mutineers (meaning the officers who often met to seek the Lord and bewail their apostacy from the good old cause), you deserve a hundred of you to be hanged; and I will hang you and strip you as a man would strip an eele; you talk of preaching and praying men, they are the men that go about to undermine me." And clapping his hand upon Colonel Ingoldsby's shoulder, said, "Go thy way, Dick Ingoldsby, thou canst neither preach nor pray, but I will believe thee before I will believe twenty of them. And he says to the cornet, you never owned my father; you have lost your commission, and shall never ride more in this army." "

Ludlow comments that

from this time all men among them who made but the least pretences to religion and sobriety, began to think themselves unsafe whilst he governed, and thereupon soon formed a resolution to use their utmost endeavours to divide the military from the civil power, and to place the command of the army in Lieutenant-General Fleetwood.²

Another incident that created much ill feeling in the army occurred during an argument, on the Other House,³ between Whalley, Commissary General of the Horse, and Colonel Ashfield. Ashfield apparently dared Whalley to strike him, whereupon the latter complained to Richard, who ordered Ashfield either to apologize or to stand his trial. Ashfield demurred, so a court-martial was appointed. The offending officer was extremely popular with the Anabaptists, who were very strong among the lower officers, and a deputation from their churches waited upon the Protector to ask him not to have Ashfield

¹ A Second Narrative of the Late Parliament (1659), pp. 30-31. This account is in a "post-script" not included in the reprint in the Harleian Miscellany, VI (1810). According to another report Richard said, "Here is Dick Ingoldsby who can neither pray nor preach, and yet I will trust him before ye all." (Ludlow, II, 63.)

³ The "House of Lords" nominated by the Protector in accordance with the Humble Petition and Advice.

cited before the court-martial. But Richard refused unless a public apology were tendered. The sequel is unknown, but Ashfield was regarded by the officers of similar advanced opinions as a martyr to court favoritism. Monck, who was Ashfield's commander in chief, urged that he and another offending officer should be sent down to Scotland, where his regiment was. "If they were heere, these two could signifie but a little, as little as any two officers in Scotland; . . . There are no forces can be quieter then these are, and shall bee satisfied with any thinge His Highnesse and Parliament shall settle." ¹ Unfortunately, Richard was either too indifferent or too weak to follow this advice. As a royalist noted, he was all mildness in the hope of conciliating everyone. ² Actually, this policy encouraged the agitation of extremists.

Perhaps events in Parliament, however, had more influence in alienating the army. To many the recognition of Richard as Protector and of the Other House, from which all faithful peers were not to be excluded, was anathema. According to a republican, the acknowledgment was in "such terms as had no less in them than the admittance of the chief magistrate and the person then sitting in the Other House unto the full power, privileges, and prerogative of the ancient kings, and ancient House of Lords, . . . a bad change of persons, where there was none of things." ³ Members of Parliament are said often to have asked, "If a single person, why not the King?" ⁴

Moreover, nothing was done to provide for the arrears in the pay of

¹ Monck to Thurloe, Mar. 22, 1659 (Thurloe, VII, 638); Ashfield's account is in Hist. MSS Com., *Leyborne-Popham MSS* (1899), pp. 114–15; Anthony Morgan (whose informant was Whalley himself) to Henry Cromwell, Mar. 8, 29 (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 245; *ibid.*, 823, fol. 278); Ludlow, II, 61–62.

² Feb. 1/11. (Clarendon, IV, 141.)

³ Slingsby Bethel, A True and Impartial Narrative (in Somers Tracts, VI, 479). A pamphlet called Some Reasons Humbly Proposed for the Speedy Re-admission of the Long Parliament (1659) complained that the Parliament sufficiently showed the "sordid, slavish, and imposing spirit" of many of the nation, and their "desperate enmity" to the army. The writer of England's Confusion (1659), p. 5 (in Somers Tracts, VI, 516), says that the recognition of the Other House was pressed by the court and the army, and that the "moderate honest patriots" secured the proviso not to exclude faithful peers. One of Henry Cromwell's correspondents reports that the commonwealthsmen "crye out a slavery, & write an Ichabod on the freedom of England"; and another that, under the cloak of the old peerage, "Some carry Cha: Steward." (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fols. 274, 245; cf. fol. 42.)

⁴ Clarendon State Papers, III, 426-27; Clarendon, IV, 151.

the army, which were now considerable. There was a distinctly antimilitarist tone in the parliamentary debates, which ended in the general alienation of all ranks in the army. The higher officers were disaffected by the bitter attacks on the Upper House, which was largely composed of themselves. One speaker said: "This new House of Lords consists of swordsmen, colonels, and commanders of armies. The persons are all either military, or in civil judicature. It is not fit for those that receive public moneys to have a legislature with us. If therefore we . . . will needs transact with those men, let us take the self-denying ordinance to be our rule." Another remarked of the new Lords:

They are many of them military persons. Thus they would have a military and civil sword. There are nineteen regiments of horse and foot,⁵ and divers garrisons, besides the Tower of London, all in that House; and a great part of the fleet besides. . . . We have found, by experience, the mischief of the sword. The little fingers of major-generals have I found heavier than the loins of the greatest tyrant kings that went before.⁶

Other speakers contrived to make slighting remarks about every rank in the army.

¹ According to the pay warrants in S. P. 28, Vol. 117, in January, 1659, regiments were being paid "on account" on musters held at various dates ranging from July 19 to October 11,

1658. Perhaps a fair average for arrears would be three to four months.

² This probably correctly reflected popular opinion in the constituencies. It is remarkable that Baxter, a former army chaplain, in an appeal to the rich to give liberally, should write: "Come before thieves, or fire, or souldiers have seized upon your perishing wealth." (Letter dated Feb. 26, 1658[/9], in *Model for the Maintaining of Students*, p. 8.) A member's suggestion that no time should be wasted for fear of interruption by the army caused him to be reprimanded at the bar of the House. (*Clarendon*, IV, 147.) The large number of lawyers in the Commons helps to explain its antimilitarism. (*Ibid.*, p. 140, where it is said there were 150 lawyers in Parliament, "more than ever before.")

³ Prynne's view is that the army "grandees" were alienated by Richard's preferring to base his power rather upon the "antient nobility, gentry, lawyers, and presbyterians" than upon them, and by his attempt to revive the militia. Outvoted by the lawyers and the court party, they dissolved the Parliament. (The Re-Publicans and Others Spurious Good Old

Cause [1659], p. 3.)

⁴ Burton, IV, 10. The self-denying ordinance (1645) was designed to prevent members of either house of Parliament from holding commissions in the army.

⁵ Twenty-two, according to another version. (Sankey [or Zanchy] to Henry Cromwell, Mar. 8, 1658/9 [Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 247].)

6 Burton, IV, 11.

It is said, the soldiers have ventured their lives. They were well paid for it.... These are mean people, and must be paid by you.... Your laws and liberties are all gone. Two negatives are in one hand. An army is in your legislature, and 1,300,000*l*. per annum forever.... Those gentlemen have been guilty of all the breaches upon the liberties of the people.... If this should pass, we shall next vote canvass breeches and wooden shoes for the free people of England.¹

It is not surprising that such language angered the soldiers. One night a member was stopped and rudely treated by the guard near Whitehall. He promptly entered the House and narrated his experience.

I told them, I was a Parliament-man, and I perceive they look already with a strange face upon us. Their officer expostulated the business with me. I argued with them my privilege, and they were very earnest on me. The officer's name was one Shafto. They begin to look with an ill face upon us. Eo nomine, that I was a Parliament-man, made them expostulate it the more.

Such indications of the growth of hostility between Parliament and the army were like manna to the royalists. Their ablest agent, Mordaunt, reported to Hyde that he had seen the offended member and had "blown him up all I can, and he is naturally choleric, so that I am sure such things may prove well, and the trying them cannot prejudice us." ²

It was now a definite part of the royalist policy to attack the arbitrary acts of the preceding decade. "Methinks the most popular way of provoking Cromwell," wrote Hyde, "should be by a sharp prosecution of those criminal persons whom he must protect." In any criticisms of the Protectorate the crypto-royalists could count on the sincere support of the republicans, since the latter had never forgiven

¹ Ibid., pp. 17, 33, 51, 67, 79.

² Burton, IV, 75-76; Clarendon State Papers, III, 433. Another version is in Lansdowne

MSS, 823, fol. 245.

3 Clarendon State Papers, III, 436, 454. Cf. The Nicholas Papers, ed. Sir George F. Warner, IV (1920), 75; Clarendon, IV, 141, 157. A royalist reported that it was only with great difficulty that the supporters of Charles were induced to act with the republicans in Parliament against the party of Richard Cromwell. (Ibid., p. 149.) A little later another of Hyde's correspondents said that "the cavaliers joined so apparently with the Commonwealth's-men, that Serj. Maynard protested in the lobby that C. Stuart had more friends in the House than the Protector." (Ibid., p. 166.)

Oliver Cromwell and the army for dissolving the Rump in 1653. Accordingly, officers who had obeyed orders as a matter of course now found themselves suddenly attacked either on the ground of having

exceeded their orders or of the illegality of those orders.

The detention in the Tower since the spring of 1658 of John Portman, a fifth-monarchy enthusiast, was first considered. His arrest and imprisonment on a warrant that did not specify the cause of commitment were voted illegal and unjust, and he was ordered to be set free. The case of Robert Overton was particularly threatening. He had been imprisoned for his share in a military plot against the Protectorate in 1654.2 A petition for his release excited so much sympathy in Parliament that a frigate was sent to fetch him from the Channel Islands lest he be exposed to danger from capture at sea by pirates. He entered London in triumph, after the manner of Bastwick, Burton, and Prynne in 1640,3 and gave great umbrage at court by permitting so many people to accompany him, all carrying laurel branches. 4 On March 16 he appeared in the House of Commons and delivered a pitiful relation of his sufferings. Thereupon an animated debate ensued, in which a stern warning was given by Whalley of the consequences of freeing Overton. "You will lay all your officers in the army liable to actions," he said, for Overton was committed as a soldier by soldiers, and the grounds of his imprisonment could not be set forth lest the source of the information against him should have been revealed.⁵ It was all in vain, and the House voted that Overton's detention by a warrant under the hand of the chief magistrate alone, wherein no cause was expressed, was illegal and unjust, and that he should be discharged from imprisonment. Such a vote created a feeling of insecurity among all the officers who had served the late Protector. The House next proceeded to vote the impeachment of Butler, who had made himself particularly obnoxious as a major general. His conduct

³ Clarke Papers, III, 184.

¹ Feb. 26. (Burton, III, 494–98; Thurloe, VII, 623.) ² Gardiner, Commonwealth and Protectorate, III, 227–32.

⁴ Guizot, I, 336. The Venetian ambassador states that Overton was ordered to enter London privately and that he ignored the order and was arrested. (*Calendar*, pp. 298, 300.) This is probably just a false rumor.

⁵ Burton, IV, 154-55.

was hotly assailed by the republicans — in order that the army should become dissatisfied with Parliament - and by the royalists, who were then posing as "hypocrite patriots, Commonwealth's men." 2 His own defense that he would not disobey what the chief magistrate ordered him to do, and the excuse made for him that a soldier, by martial law, is not to dispute the orders of his superior officers, were treated as mere aggravations of his offense.3 The petition from seventy royalists sold into slavery in Barbados after Penruddock's rising, and Major General Browne's 4 declaration that he had been kept five years in prison without any charge being brought against him, roused much indignation. These assaults alarmed the administration as well as the army, but the secretary of state and officers argued in vain that petitions from Cavaliers should not be entertained lest others in the country should take heart. One colonel went so far as to warn his fellow members that if they were not careful they would raise a flame they could not quench, and that soldiers would feel themselves in danger and be "forced to look to themselves." Nothing daunted, many speakers talked of the liberties of an Englishman, and Hesilrige neatly summed up the antimilitarist sentiments of the House: "We are likely to be governed by an army. . . . Our ancestors left us free men. If we have fought our sons into slavery, we are of all men most miserable." 5

Presbyterians and crypto-royalists were not content to criticize the immediate past, but wished to go back and question the legality of all that had been done since Pride's Purge of Parliament in 1648. A remark by a member to Hesilrige that the laws had no force which were made in the "fag-end" of the Long Parliament [i.e. during 1649-53]

became famous.

This was presently noised abroad, and very ill resented by the army. I doubt it may breed ill blood; for every man that acted, begins to say, "What did I do in that fag-end of a parliament, and how shall I be indemnified but by my

² Mordaunt to Hyde, Mar. 8, 1659. (Clarendon State Papers, III, 432.)

4 Browne by this time was a pronounced royalist. (Clarendon, IV, 128, 130, 156. Cf. 168.)

5 Burton, IV, 262-76.

¹ Anthony Morgan to Henry Cromwell, Apr. 12, 1659, and Fauconberg to the same. (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 293; *ibid.*, 823, fol. 292.)

³ Burton, IV, 403–12. (Letters of Apr. 12 from Anthony Morgan and Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell [Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 293; *ibid.*, 823, fol. 292].)

sword? We will not give the cause away." Never did two words work such an alteration in one day in the face of affairs. Query, the consequence? if not appeased.

Another bone of contention was the declaration issued by Parliament to establish May 18 as a day of fasting. Among the grounds enumerated for the national humiliation were the heresies and blasphemies that came from denying the authority of the word of God and crying up the light in the hearts of sinful men as the rule and guide of life, and the remissness of magistrates, "to whom belong the care of maintaining God's public worship, honour, and purity of doctrine." This declaration savored too much of presbyterianism for the Anabaptists of the army, and they were particularly roused by the hint to the magistrates to institute religious intolerance. Even to suggest the revival of persecution was tactless in the extreme, for if there was one subject on which all sections in the army were united, it was the belief in toleration.

Towards the end of March Thurloe summed up the position as follows: "It is a miracle of mercy, that wee are yet in peace, consideringe what the debates are, and what underhand workeinge there is to disaffect the officers of the army: but for ought I can perceive, they remeyne pretty staunch, though they are in great want of pay, for which noe provision is at all made, nor doe I see that wee are likelye to have any yet." This proved to be an unduly optimistic view, for with the arrival of April events took a rapid turn for the worse. Fleetwood and Disbrowe persuaded the Protector that the nonpayment of arrears and the parliamentary attacks on the army had angered it to such a degree that the convocation of a general council of officers was essential. When it met, it agreed, on April 2, upon the heads of a petition to Parliament. These were: payment of arrears and provision for future pay, indemnity for the arbitrary arrest of cavaliers and for other measures to preserve internal peace, and adequate precautions

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 223; Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 208.

² Burton, IV, 328-45; Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 241.
³ Thurloe, VII, 626. Fauconberg wrote on March 20 to Henry Cr.

³ Thurloe, VII, 636. Fauconberg wrote, on March 29, to Henry Cromwell that things seemed to have a fairer temper than formerly. (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 272.)

4 Guizot, I, 112; Ludlow, II, 65. That Fleetwood and Disbrowe were responsible for the revival of the petition is stated by Whitelocke (*Memorials of English Affairs*, IV, 342), who thought that it "was the beginning of Richard's fall." (Cf. Clarendon, IV, 178.)

against the threatened royalist insurrection. We are told by the Protector's brother-in-law that, when these heads came to be referred to a committee, for incorporation in a formal petition, "the under officers for all the rabble were present cryed up Lilborne Ashfeild and such like who brought the thing pend much wors then you find it and wee were too few to alter the whole onely with some difficulty. It was amended in several places which yet is hardly credible." 2 Both Lilburne and Ashfield were members of the Committee of Eight for drawing up the petition. Their draft was discussed section by section at a general meeting of officers, and, after a prayer meeting, signed upon April 6, and presented the same day by Fleetwood to the Protector.3 We are told that the petition was entertained by the Protector "with a very great affection and respect of the whole body of officers which presented it, using many expressions of kindness and endearment to them, as the old friends of his renowned father and the faithful servants of the publick interest of these nations." 4 The Venetian resident thought that Richard, with fair words and promises, had contrived to send the officers away well impressed and full of hope.5

The Humble Representation and Petition of the General Council of the Officers of the Armies of England, Scotland, and Ireland declares that the signatories had taken up arms to maintain their civil and religious liberties, and not as a mercenary army, and that only their reluctance to meddle unduly with nonmilitary matters had prevented an earlier petition. Now they felt they had been silent so long that all they had fought for was in danger of being lost. Accordingly, they represented that the good old cause unto which the Lord had "in such a continued

¹ Clarke Papers, III, 187.

² Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, Apr. 12. (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 291.) In view of this statement, the French Ambassador is either clearly wrong or is merely referring to the committee of officers, named on April 2, when he states: "This remonstrance was resolved upon in a council of officers, at which the friends of the Protector found themselves in the majority; the others however did not shrink from displaying great firmness in their views, and it is asserted that they are sure of the support of most of the subaltern officers." (Bordeaux to Mazarin, Apr. 7/17 [Guizot, I, 351].)

³ Clarke Papers, III, 187-88; Clarendon, IV, 181. The prayer meeting may have taken

place before the discussion.

4 Publick Intelligencer, Apr. 4/11.

⁵ Venetian Calendar, XXXII, 1659-1661 (1931), p. 7.

series of Providence, given so signal a testimony" was frequently derided; that many old cavaliers from Flanders and elsewhere often met in or near London; that suits at common law had been encouraged against officers for what they had done in mere obedience to their superiors' commands; that their foes were hoping that discontent would increase if want of pay compelled the soldiers to live at free quarters; that soldiers, in order to get money to buy bread, were forced to sell at a heavy discount the pay due to them; and that, for these reasons, the enemies of the cause were much encouraged and ready to take up arms again. Therefore, they were resolved to assist Protector and Parliament in plucking the wicked from their places, wheresoever they might be discovered, either among themselves or in other positions of trust. They concluded by asking that their arrears of pay should be satisfied and provision made for the future; that the good old cause should be so asserted as to deter all persons from speaking or attempting anything to the prejudice thereof; and that the freedom of meeting and of worship by well-affected people ("of late much violated by inditing and imprisoning many of their persons") might again be vindicated.2

Since all authorities ³ agree that the petition was very unwelcome both to Parliament and to the court, the umbrage must have arisen from the interference of the army in political affairs and the sinister hint of further purges — not from the demands themselves, for these were not unreasonable. The consciousness that Protector and Parliament were alike acting under the shadow of the sword, caused general consternation. Certainly, the Commons prepared at once to remedy the material grievances of the army, for on the day before the petition was formally sent to them they examined estimates of the army's cost and of the arrears due to it, and found the former amounted to

This seems to hint at purging the army and Parliament of hostile elements.

The Parliamentary or Constitutional History of England, XXI (1763), 340-45.

³ Sir Anthony Morgan and Fauconberg to Henry Cromwell, Apr. 12 (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 293; *ibid.*, 823, fol. 291); Bordeaux to Mazarin, Apr. 11/21 (Guizot, I, 360); *Clarendon*, IV, 181.

⁴ According to a pamphleteer, "This representation was like lightning before thunder, both to the Protector and the House; for though it hath some seeming fair professions intermixed, it is written in such a canting, aequivocating language, whereof the sword was like to be interpreter, that the sting was easily visible through the honey." (England's Confusion, p. 7 [in Somers Tracts, VI, 518].)

£760,000 per annum and the latter, so far as the forces of England were concerned, to £220,000. Two days later a report was read to provide the £90,000 necessary to pay the army for the three months

beginning March 29.1

Unfortunately, in the army the itch to intervene in public affairs had now become irresistible. The next series of meetings ominously began with a solemn fast and prayer meeting, "to humble themselves before God and seek his blessing in reference to their own affairs" at which Peters, Owen, and other favorite ministers prayed and preached.2 According to Fauconberg, the object was to make the approval of the execution of Charles I the test of fitness for membership of the army and council.3 At the meeting, attended by some five hundred officers, Disbrowe proposed that every one should swear that he conscientiously believed that the beheading of Charles Stuart was lawful and just. When he sat down, a great many cried out, "Well moved." Lord Broghil, a staunch supporter of the Protector, spoke against such a condition as contrary to that liberty of conscience for which they had fought. If, however, they must have a test in order to pledge the army, he offered a more reasonable and lawful one — that all should be turned out of the army who would not swear to defend the government as now established under the Protector and Parliament. This discourse, too, was received with shouts of "Well moved." After Goffe and Whalley had both spoken to the same effect, Fleetwood, Disbrowe, and others of the opposing faction consulted together and decided that it was better to withdraw both proposed tests than to put to a vote which of the two should pass, and Broghil consented.4 According to another version of the same meeting, the council of the army, at Wallingford House, agreed to declare against Charles Stuart and for the Protector and Parliament, to safeguard all persons that

¹ Commons Journals, VII, 628-31, 634; Venetian Calendar, 1659-1661, p. 8.

3 Letter to Henry Cromwell, Apr. 12. (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 291.)

² Mercurius Politicus, Apr. 7/14; Clarke Papers, III, 189; Guizot, I, 362-63. For a discussion of Owen's share in these transactions, see William Orme, Memoirs of John Owen (1820), pp. 276-79; Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 251.

⁴ A Collection of the State Letters of Roger Boyle, the First Earl of Orrery, ed. Thomas Morrice (Dublin, 1743), I, 55-57. John Oldmixon touched up this narrative (then in manuscript) and incorporated it in his The History of England, during the Reigns of the Royal House of Stuart (1730), p. 432.

had participated in the execution of Charles I, and to admonish the army to amity and unity and a strict walking before the Lord.

Possibly the next event was the conference between Thurloe and other councilors and the principal officers of the army, in which the first named proposed that the Protector should assume the generalship, that Parliament should be dissolved, and that a way should be prescribed for satisfying the arrears due to the army and for its regular pay in the future. Whalley, Goffe, and others are said to have supported this proposal, but Fleetwood and Disbrowe were reputed to have been against it on the ground that it was too hazardous except in the last extremity. Probably this failure to secure the support of the army leaders resulted in the suggestion that more violent measures should be adopted.2 The Protector's adherents, including Fauconberg, Goffe, Howard, and Ingoldsby, advised Richard to send a party to Disbrowe's house to seize eight or nine of the chief confederates and to order the rest of the officers to repair to their respective commands. Although these counsels were very agreeable to his inclination, Thurloe and other advisers dissuaded him from the first course, and he readily consented to the second.3

¹ G. Mabbott to Henry Cromwell, Apr. 19. (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 299.) For a very

similar account, see Nicholas Papers, IV, 105.

² Thurloe, VII, 661. Probably it was to this meeting, or to a proposal similar to that under discussion at it, that Vane referred when he said that "the occasion of calling together this council, was by His Highness, on purpose to try the officers if they would take commis-

sions from him, exclusive of the Parliament." (Burton, IV, 458.)

3 Baker, Chronicle, p. 641; Thurloe, VII, 662. This meeting caused a crop of rumors, most of which attribute either to Howard or to Ingoldsby the offer to assume all responsibility for the seizure of the army leaders, and to Richard the refusal to maintain his position at the cost of bloodshed. (Reliquiae Baxterianae, ed. Matthew Sylvester [1696], p. 101; James Heath, A Chronicle of the Late Intestine War [1676], p. 417.) Both Mercurius Politicus (Apr. 14/21) and Publick Intelligencer (Apr. 11/18) mention in identical words that Richard summoned the officers to Whitehall and that "he signified to them his pleasure in divers particulars neerly concerning the present government and publick interest of these nations"; and Whitelocke (Memorials, IV, 342) says that Richard had conferences with the officers. Unfortunately, the vagueness of these references precludes any attempt to deduce whether Richard saw the officers before or after he had consulted his own supporters — a point of some importance. Mountague, at this time absent at sea, made an entry in his diary (probably after the Restoration) that he had been assured on good authority that it would have been possible to displace Fleetwood and those acting with him, but that this "must have been done by the Lord Falconberg, the Earl of Carlisle, myself, Col. Ingoldsby and others, whom they thought would certainly bring in the King, which at that time they chose to shift off unto the very last exThe next day (Monday, April 18) was the most critical of all. In the morning the House of Commons passed two votes of the utmost consequence: that during the sitting of Parliament there should be no general council or meeting of the officers of the army without the direction, leave, and authority of the Protector and both Houses; and that no officer should retain his commission if he refused to subscribe a declaration that he would not disturb or interrupt the free meeting of Parliament. The debates which preceded the voting show the general alarm, for speaker after speaker expressed the fear that the army would turn out the Parliament. It is noteworthy that virtually the only opponents of the votes were the republicans. This goes far to confirm the prevalent rumor that they had come to terms with the army.²

In the afternoon Richard summoned the officers to Whitehall and told them that, inasmuch as he had presented their petition to Parliament, where their desires were under consideration, there was no longer any need for meetings. Accordingly, he dissolved the council of officers and ordered them back to their regiments. He gave two reasons: one, that many members of Parliament were dissatisfied with such meetings during the session; and the other, that the cavaliers

were arming in preparation for a new rising.

Disbrowe replied he wondered that any honest man should be offended at their meetings to regulate disorders among themselves. His Highness affirmed his first orders & withdrew. General Disbrowe & divers others went out with him towards his chamber, & as they went General Disbrowe said to His Highness "But Sir, The meeting is not dissolved for all this for they adiorned themselves to a meeting at Wallingford house & not to this place." His Highness replied "Sir, I say they shall not meet there nor any where else." Coll Ashfeild step[ped] in & said "Sir, this suddain order will put us

* Commons Journals, VII, 641; Burton, IV, 448-63. They also resolved to take into immediate consideration the satisfaction of arrears of pay due to the army and navy, and the preparation of a bill of indemnity for all who had served the commonwealth.

² Ludlow, II, 63, 66; Guizot, I, 110–11.

tremity." (The Journal of Edward Mountagu, First Earl of Sandwich, ed. R. C. Anderson [Navy Records Society, 1929], p. 70.) This passage antedates the conversion of the Cromwellians to royalism, but it is likely enough that Thurloe and his fellows realized that the result of a serious division in the army, such as the arrest of Fleetwood and Disbrowe would inevitably have caused, might well be the restoration of the Stuarts.

to great inconveniences, & when wee come to our soldiers without mony wee shall not know what to say to them besides there are divers officers but newly come to town, His Highness replied Sir, you of all men have least reason to except against this order having been 2 years from your command, & I believe those who came lately to town will be willinger to returne then those who have been longer here." I

Nevertheless, the officers met again and protested that they would meet whenever they pleased until they received satisfaction, and openly announced they desired the dissolution of Parliament.² Matters had now reached a crisis, and nothing but a *coup d'état* could save the situation.

A deceptive calm prevailed on April 19 and 20. On the former the Commons sent the Lords their votes of the previous day. The Lords resolved to take them into consideration without permitting any other business.3 On the twentieth the officers of the trainbands of the City of London presented an address to Richard in which they associated themselves with Fleetwood and the army officers.4 The events of the following day, a Thursday, were decisive. In spite of representations from Fleetwood and others to the Protector not to permit any discussion in Parliament about the command of the army, a debate took place in the Commons, nominally on the control of the militia but in reality about the command of the army. The discussion has only an academic interest, for, as Scot (a republican) said, "this looks like Hezekiah's will, 'put thy house in order, for thou shalt die and not live." These proceedings enraged the army, which believed that Richard had broken a promise to Fleetwood and Disbrowe, by exerting all his influence to have Parliament declare him general, and that

¹ Anthony Morgan to Henry Cromwell, Apr. 19. (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 301.) Cf. Clarke Papers, III, 191, 212; Guizot, I, 363–64; Clarendon, IV, 184. None of these accounts confirms the narrative in the State Letters of Roger Boyle, I, 57–58, where Broghil is credited with the advice to dissolve the council of officers and with the composition of the speech delivered there.

² Venetian Calendar, 1559–1661, p. 11. Probably John Harris, in his Peace and Not Warre (1659), pp. 24–25, interprets the view of the army in the complaint that Parliament began "to impose upon the army, by denying them the liberty of meeting together to consult their affaires either as Englishmen, or souldiers." This distinction between the army's rights as Englishmen and as soldiers had been very prominent in 1647.

³ The Manuscripts of the House of Lords, 1699–1702 [?1908], p. 563.
4 Publick Intelligencer, Apr. 18/25.
5 Burton, IV, 478.

his supporters had joined with the crypto-cavaliers to this end. Thereupon, the common soldiers cried out against what had happened and begged their officers to remember the cause for which they had so

many times bled."

Meanwhile, Richard was conferring with his leading supporters as to whether to dissolve Parliament. Whitelocke reports that most were in favor of a dissolution but that he himself was opposed to it, especially now that the Commons had begun to consider how to raise money which would reconcile the soldiery. He says that the reasons which swayed the majority were the present great dangers threatened both by Parliament and by the cavaliers who were flocking to London and secretly fomenting a division.2 Either then or later Richard discussed the arrest of Fleetwood and the army ringleaders. The upshot was that a messenger was sent to request Fleetwood to come to Whitehall. When he refused, Richard ordered some of his bodyguard to seize him. They asked to be excused such a task. In the meantime, Fleetwood had called a general rendezvous of the army at St. James's. Richard appointed a counter-rendezvous at Whitehall, but the colonels who supported him found that their regiments disobeyed their orders and were persuaded by their own officers to cast in their lot with their fellow soldiers at St. James's. According to one report, seven colonels could not muster more than three companies and two troops out of their regiments to support Richard. It is apparently to this critical stage that the following passage in Baker's Chronicle should be assigned:

In the evening many of his [Richard's] friends encouraged him to take horse, and appear in the head of some troops that were ready to receive him. While this was doing, the other party had drawn up some men in the several avenues to White-hall, and in Saint James's Fields, yet it was believed, if he had appeared with vigour and courage amongst them, respect of his person would have prevailed much with the common souldiers; but he was fearful and unresolved,3 of a spirit unbecoming the quality he assumed; and many of those about him were as irresolute as he, some advised one thing, some

¹ Clarke Papers, III, 212.

Memorials, IV, 343.
 Perhaps some of those present remembered the scene on Corkbush Field, in November, 1647, when Oliver quelled single-handed an incipient mutiny in two regiments led astray by the Levellers.

another, wasting their time in contradictions; and, as it happens in the consultations of fearful people, they debated many things fit to be done, till the time was past to put them in execution.

To a fanatical republican, "this night was the brightest apperans of the Lord that hath bene in our age." Other chroniclers gave a more mundane explanation of the Protector's desertion by the rank and file—namely, that it had been instilled into them that he intended suddenly to disband them and to put the army in the hands of the nobility and gentry in order to restore the Stuarts and to destroy the liberty

of the Gospel for which they had fought so long.3

That evening Disbrowe and others went to Whitehall and told Richard that if he would dissolve Parliament the officers would take care of him, but if he refused they would act without him and leave him to shift for himself. For a while he resisted stoutly, because he wanted first to consult some of his council, but this was denied him. Eventually his resolution gave way to the threats Disbrowe did not hesitate to utter. Some time during the night, he signed a commission for the dissolution of Parliament.4 Therefore, Fiennes, the lord keeper, formally ended the session the next morning, Friday, April 22.5 A section of the Commons, knowing what was to happen, declined to obey the summons to the Upper House and voted to adjourn until Monday. According to a pamphleteer, before the adjournment Hesilrige and others moved that the House should declare it treason to put force upon any members of the House and that any votes passed by some members of Parliament while the rest were excluded should be null and void.6

P. 641. 213.

³ Baker, Chronicle, p. 641. A pamphlet, Fast and Loose (1659), p. 5, probably is merely repeating what many soldiers thought: "that which gave the army a motive hereunto, was because this Parliament had a purpose of securing the nation by militia and trained bands,

as in former times, and so to disband this army being a very great burthen."

⁴ S. P. 78, Vol. 114, fol. 230 (letter from De Vaux, in French [not in cipher, as stated in Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1658–1659, pp. 335–36]); Clarke Papers, III, 192–93, 213. For later rumors of what happened this night, see p. vi of "The Life of John Howe," by Edmund Calamy, which is prefixed to The Works of John Howe (New York, 1838); T. M., The History of Independency: The Fourth and Last Part (1660), pp. 38–39; George Bate, Elenchus (1685), p. 246.

5 Manuscripts of the House of Lords, 1699-1702, p. 567. 6 England's Confusion, pp. 8-9 (Somers Tracts, VI, 519).

For all intents and purposes, the dissolution of Parliament marked the end of the Protectorate. The government was carried on nominally in Richard's name until May 7, when the Rump was restored, and it was not until May 25 that he signed the acquiescence in the reestablishment of the Commonwealth, which may be regarded as his formal abdication. It is clear that the "grandees" of the army had intended that Richard should remain Protector, though shorn of all control over the army. But, as a contemporary says, the inferior officers and pamphlets ("that now flew about daily without controul") were out of hand and insisted on going far beyond the original intentions of the chief officers.2 The immediate cause, therefore, of the downfall of the protectorate house of Cromwell was the revival of republican or commonwealth principles among the lower officers in the army. Nevertheless, Richard is surely right in attributing his misfortunes primarily to the ambition of Fleetwood, Disbrowe, and other grandees. "They tripped up my heeles," wrote Richard, "before I knew them, for though they were relations yet they forsooke me. I knowe K [?Fleetwood] and L [?Disbrowe] regaurds not ruen soe that they may have their ends; they are pittiful creatures. God will avenge inocency." 3 Contributory causes were the nature of the legacy Oliver Cromwell had bequeathed to his son and the character of Richard himself. As to Richard, there is no gainsaying Mrs. Hutchinson's famous verdict that he was "gentle and virtuous, but became not greatness." 4 Another contemporary blames his "folly and cowardize." 5 Certainly, Richard displayed a remarkable lack of firmness during the last weeks of the Protectorate and seems to have been a prey to whatever adviser last caught his ear. By that time affairs had got beyond control, and it is improbable that any of his contemporaries could have done much better. The position the army

1 Mercurius Politicus, May 19/26.

³ Richard to Henry Cromwell, May, 1659. (Lansdowne MSS, 823, fol. 370.)

4 Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 298.

² England's Confusion, p. 9. Republicans or commonwealthsmen were always contrasting the selfish grandees and the "faithfull inferiour officers and souldiers." (A Perambulatory Word to Court, Camp, City and Country [1659].) According to Calamy's "Life of Howe," p. vi, when Fleetwood was reminded of his promise to Richard that the army would not do him the least damage if he complied with its demands, all he ever would say was that he thought he had had more interest in the army than he found he had.

⁵ John Fell, The Interest of England Stated (1659), p. 7.

occupied was fatal to any form of constitutional government, and the personal characters of its leaders, and their reckless scrambling for power, rendered inevitable the eventual ruin of its discipline. Had Richard followed Monck's advice, to reduce the army, he might have got rid of factious officers without causing a mutiny. Monck certainly proved at the end of 1659 how little hold cashiered officers retained over the men they had hitherto commanded, and it is possible that this would have been true a year earlier; yet in fairness to Richard it must be remembered, not only that he entirely lacked Monck's experience and disciplinary ability, but also that Monck purged his army in Scotland after the English army leaders had produced sheer anarchy south of the border, and after the common soldier had been influenced by the intense propaganda set up against military rule. Without this advantage Richard's chances of success in the autumn of 1658 must be

regarded as problematical.

There is no warrant to attribute the action of the army in the spring of 1659 solely or even mainly to the ambition of a few leaders. They were undeniably greedy for power and used their opportunities for selfish ends, but they did not create the opportunities. These were largely caused by the religious and political fanaticism of the inferior officers and the economic necessities of the rank and file. The junior officers had witnessed the establishment of the Protectorate with grave misgivings, which had been intensified by the growing resemblance between Cromwell's residence and a court; in fact, "courtiers" was a term frequently applied to the supporters of the Protectorate. Moreover, their superior officers became more and more like territorial magnates and many were even called lords after they had been summoned to the other House, created by the Humble Petition and Advice. Thus, instead of being comrades in arms they became social superiors; indeed, absenteeism by colonels became a regular practice. Republican pamphleteers were careful to point out how well prominent Cromwellians had feathered their own nests.2 From their effu-

² A Narrative of the Late Parliament, printed in Harleian Miscellany, VI; Second Narrative of the Late Parliament, printed ibid.; The Mystery of the Good Old Cause (1660), reprinted as Sarcastic Notices of the Long Parliament (1863).

¹ Cf. Mrs. Hutchinson: "At last he [Cromwell] took upon himself to make lords and knights, and wanted not many fools, both of the army and gentry, to accept of and strut in its mock titles." (Memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson, p. 299.)

sions it appeared that a number of higher officers were drawing several thousands a year. The new rich aped the old nobility and well deserved the name, bestowed upon them in scorn, of "the grandees." During 1659 the soldiers began to ask themselves whether they should continue obedience to "self-seeking men set over us, who by our means were raised from the meanest mechanicks to lord-like inheritances." ¹

The affluence of a few leaders was all the harder to bear when the pay of the army was in arrears. It mattered little to the grandees whether they drew their own pay or not, inasmuch as the bulk of their income came from the public appointments they held, but the under officers and soldiers had to live on their pay or at free quarters. Moreover, it so happened that 1659 was a year of dearness and remarkable for a heavy mortality among horses. Since a trooper had to provide his own horse, and at a cost of about £10, and received only 2s. 6d. a day, it is clear that the coincidence of losses of mounts and arrears of pay must have worked great hardship.2 Another factor that made the rank and file very uneasy was that they were often paid not in cash but in debentures, or certificates stating that so much was owed them and naming security such as royal mansions or confiscated lands. Often the security was hard to realize, and in any case the soldier in want did not care to wait. So officers took to buying up the debentures at reduced rates and eventually a regular trade in them developed, through which men like Lambert made fortunes. The price of a debenture varied, but 12s. per pound was thought a very handsome rate, and according to one officer the common price was 1s. or 1s. 6d. per pound.3 Consequently the rank and file had very definite grievances, both against the government, or Parliament, for not keeping

¹ W[?illiam] B[?ray], The Sentinels Remonstrance or The Vindication of the Souldiers to the People of This Commonwealth (1659). The contrast between the lowly birth and the present eminence of the grandees occurred to many. Thus, one pamphleteer says: "All of them ambitious of rule, and were so much the more desirous to fly an high pitch, because their rise was taken from a low ground." (Fast and Loose, p. 4.)

² "The poor soldier sometimes inforced to sell his expected pay much under the value thereof, for ready money to buy bread; and the great and unusual mortality of horses in the army (insomuch that many troopers have been forced to buy twice over) having brought the horse of this army under exceeding great extremities." (Petition of April 6 [Parliamentary or Constitutional History, XXI, 343].)

³ C. H. Firth, Cromwell's Army (1921), pp. 202-7.

pay up to date, and against the grandees for the extortionate profits they made out of the necessities of their men. Therefore, the lower ranks of the army were perfectly willing to take part in any movement that promised a change of government, and preferred to take sides with Fleetwood and Disbrowe against Richard Cromwell. This was clearly not through any great love for the army leaders, inasmuch as the lower ranks thrust them aside in favor of the remnant of the Long Parliament, which these leaders had helped Oliver Cromwell to expel in 1653. A pamphlet entitled, Some Reasons Humbly Proposed to the Officers of the Army (1659) lists various arguments for recalling the Rump. Among them are: first, "because the present great necessities and pressures of the army and navy, do require it; there being no other visible legal authority for raising mony to pay them"; and fifthly, because otherwise impartial men would think that they had destroyed the Protectorate "to advance themselves higher, or some of their great officers, that they may be in a fuller capacity to rule us in a military way." These and other arguments in the pamphlet probably represent adequately the motives that actuated the lower orders in the army in the spring of 1659.

Richard's downfall marked a definite stage in the conservative reaction that had clearly set in about 1653, when the failure of Barebones' Parliament proved that the high tide of militant Puritanism had begun to ebb. Oliver Cromwell had seen that republican institutions, or institutions framed on biblical models, were alien to England, and had been gradually restoring the old order. By so doing he seemed to many to be setting up again what God had pulled down. He was also depriving the Protectorate of its raison d'être. During his lifetime the glory he won for England abroad and the order he maintained at home reconciled men to his rule, but after his death these advantages vanished and there was no logical answer to the question asked in Parliament — "If a single person, why not the King?" Thus, the Protectorate fell because most men were either opposed or indifferent to its survival. In the army the "grandees" found it a hindrance to their ambitions, the professional soldiers lost interest in it because left without leadership, the junior officers felt it an offense to their political and religious fanaticism, and the rank and file would not fight for it because it left them irregularly paid. Outside the army

only the sectaries were hostile to a restoration. Blue laws had alienated all but the most austere, and heavy taxation had made the Puritan revolution still more odious to the mass of Englishmen. Even as early as the spring of 1659 there was no valid reason to prefer Tumble Down Dick to the Merry Monarch.



Early American Copies of Milton

By LEON HOWARD

INCE Charles Francis Adams observed, on the occasion of the Milton tercentenary, that the author of Paradise Lost was almost unknown in the American colonies before 1750, several students have noted traces of his works on this side of the Atlantic; 2 but, in general, these notices have been in the form of such disconnected allusions that it is still possible for a student to ask, with a deal of pertinence: "Of the American interest in . . . Milton . . . what do we really know?" 3 It is the purpose of this paper to give an account of what we really know at the present time concerning the existence of copies of Milton's works in America before 1815 and to indicate something of the significance of that knowledge. The period covered by this record divides itself roughly into three parts: first, the years preceding literary journalism in the colonies, ending with the establishment of the New-England Courant in 1721; second, the time from 1721 to the close of the colonial era; and, third, the first generation of national publishing, beginning with the post-war revival of printing-press activity and extending to the close of the second war with England. For the first of these divisions of time, every recorded copy of Milton's writings is of interest; for the second, the interest lies chiefly in evidence of their general availability; and for the third, the

Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society, XLII, 49 ff. Cf. The Nation,

LXXXVII, 599-600 (Dec. 17, 1908).

3 H. M. Jones, "Salvaging Our Literature," The American Scholar, II, 361 (May, 1933).

² Notably Albert Matthews, in *The Nation*, LXXXVII, 624-25, 650 (Dec. 24, 31, 1908); Thomas G. Wright, in his *Literary Culture in Early New England*, 1620-1730 (New Haven, 1920); Elizabeth C. Cook, in her *Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers*, 1704-1750 (New York, 1912); and Mary N. Stanard, whose *Colonial Virginia: Its People and Customs* (Philadelphia, 1917) summarizes the results of earlier studies of Virginia libraries which appeared in the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography* and the *William and Mary College Quarterly*. Matthews' immediate response to Adams's observations enabled the latter to retract in part his original statements. (See his "Milton's Impress on the Provincial Literature of New England," *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLII, 154-70.)

record of editions published in America is sufficiently impressive to stand alone.

Some of Milton's prose works reached America before Paradise Lost was printed, and he was naturally best known to the seventeenthcentury colonists as a controversialist and scholar. The An Apology ... [for] Smectymnuus, The Reason for Church-government, and the Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio appear in the 1664 catalogue of Increase Mather's library and are perhaps the first copies of Milton's writings in America to which printed references exist, although such personal friends and correspondents of his as Roger Williams and John Winthrop the younger, as well as his many Cambridge contemporaries in New England, knew of and possibly owned copies of his works. Of the other prose writings, a copy of The History of Britain was sent "without ordre" to John Usher, a Boston bookseller, about 1682 for sale in America,2 where the book seems not to have been popular, although other copies did reach the colonies and were in existence at a somewhat later date in Maryland and Virginia.3 The Artis Logicae was better received, and remained favorably known for at least a generation. Three copies were ordered by Usher in 1685 for sale in Boston; 4 Harvard undergraduates made use of it; 5 Cotton Mather recommended it as a competent treatise on logic for young ministers; 6 and a copy, with the Pro Se Defensio, the Literae Pseudo-Senatus, and The Doctrine and Discipline of Divorce, was obtained, possibly in 1698 and certainly no later than 1730, for the library of the Corporation of the City of New York.7 A "Complete Collection of Prose Works" was among the Mil-

¹ Julius H. Tuttle, "The Libraries of the Mathers," Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society, N.S., XX, 285, 289. Eikonoklastes, said by Wright (op. cit., p. 179) to have been in Cotton Mather's library, bear the Back Market 1745." (See Tuttle, p. 338.)

² Worthington C. Ford, The Boston Book Market, 1679–1700 (Boston, 1917), p. 104.
³ Of the twenty-three notes given by R. Lewis to his translation of Holdsworth's Muscipula [The Mouse-Trap (Annapolis, 1728), "the first translation of Latin poetry published in Maryland"], four are based on Milton's History. (See pp. 44-47.) William Byrd of Westover also possessed a copy. (See the catalogue of his library, in The Writings of "Colonel William Byrd of Westover in Virginia Esq.", ed. J. S. Bassett [New York, 1901], p. 414.)

⁴ Ford, op. cit., p. 147.

⁵ There are extant two copies which belonged to Harvard students, bearing the inscriptions "T. Prince. 1704" and "Simon Bradstreet's Book 1724." (Adams, "Milton's Impress," op. cit., p. 165.)

⁶ Manuductio ad Ministerium (Boston, 1726), p. 36.

⁷ Catalogue of the Library of the Corporation of the City of New York (New York, 1766),

ton items sent to the Yale College library in 1714, and the 1723 Harvard Library catalogue listed the *Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*.

A somewhat smaller number of volumes of Milton's poems have been recorded in America during this early period. Only six, or at the most seven or eight, copies of Paradise Lost are known to have existed in the colonies before 1700. John Usher ordered four copies for his Boston shop on March 3, 1683/4,3 and a copy of the 1669 edition was sent to the Corporation Library in New York in 1698.4 One of the Usher copies or a sixth copy of Paradise Lost was in the hands of Cotton Mather while he was writing his Magnalia, for he quoted it aptly in adapted form, twice for descriptive purposes and once as a continuation of his narrative. A copy of the 1688 edition of the epic, which could not have been one of the Usher copies, was probably in the possession of one of Mather's friends before the close of the century.6 When the elder Thomas Hollis sent a "new & fair Edicon" (1720) of the poetical works to the Harvard library in 1722, the corporation in accepting the gift voted to sell the partial duplicate, already in the college's possession, which may possibly have been obtained before the end of the seventeenth century. Yale acquired its first copies of Mil-

p. 16. For the dates of various collections received, see A. B. Keep, *History of the New York Society Library*, . . . (New York, 1908), pp. 8 ff., 43 ff., 64 ff.

Wright, op. cit., p. 186. (From President Clap's manuscript catalogue.)

² Matthews, in *The Nation*, LXXXVII, 624. The *Defensio* is not listed among the "Selected Titles," from the 1723 catalogue, reprinted by Wright — a selection which attributes to Milton a "Cry from the Desert . . . things lately come to pass in the Cevennes." (Wright, op. cit., p. 293.)

³ Ford, op. cit., p. 122.

⁴ See 1766 Catalogue, p. 37. For date see Keep, op. cit., pp. 12-15.

⁵ Magnalia Christi Americana (London, 1702), Bk. II, p. 47, and VII, 44, 50; Paradise Lost, VI, II. 644-47, 483-90, 386-93. The adaptations are interesting, for, whether Mather had the poem open before him (as Wright suggests, op. cit., pp. 143-44) or whether he was quoting from memory, they show that the Puritan scholar had a keen appreciation of Milton's verse and rhythm. Incidentally, it should be noted that Tuttle's catalogue of the Mather library (which does not list Paradise Lost) makes no claim to completeness.

⁶ See Wright, op. cit., pp. 150-51.

^{7 &}quot;The worthy Mr Hollis having Sent Over a new & fair Edicon of Milton's Poetical Works, directing, That if the College have Such like already, the s^d Books are at Mr Colmans Service either to dispose of or keep, Now Mr Colman being desirous that the College sh^d Have these new, fair and Well-bound Books intire, thô part of the Like be in the Library, Voted that what of Milton's Poetical Works heretofore belonged to the Library be deliver'd to the Rev^d Mr Colman to be disposed of as he sees meet." (Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, Collections, XVI [Harvard College Records, Pt. 11], 466-67.) This new edition was listed in the 1723 catalogue.

ton's poems with the prose writings sent over in 1714, receiving "Paradise Lost and all Poetical Works." One earlier copy of Milton has been noted in Connecticut—"Milton on Comus," which the Rev. Mr. Thomas Buckingham, of Hartford, carried with him on the expedition against Crown Point in 1711. A few other references suggest that further volumes of Milton's poems may possibly be identified in New England at about this time, but these references are not definite. And, with the exception of the copy in the New York Corporation Library, the earliest *Paradise Lost* recorded in the colonies outside of New England was one which belonged to Godfrey Pole, of Virginia, in 1716. Other copies of Milton, however, have been listed in various later inventories of Virginia libraries, and some of these may have been brought across the Atlantic during this period.

But these records are meager, and their meagerness provokes the question whether Milton was not, after all, practically unknown in the colonies before the second quarter of the eighteenth century. One answer would be that all records of books in America are scanty. So few titles have been preserved, in comparison with the number of books known to have existed, that some thirty-five or forty volumes

¹ Wright, op. cit., p. 186.

² Diary, Aug. 8, 1711. (Roll and Journal of Connecticut Service in Queene Anne's War,

1710-1711 ["Acorn Club Publications," XIII], p. 30.)

³ Verses praising "great Milton" and printed under the title "Written in the Inimitable Paradise Lost" appeared in Select Essays, With some few Miscellaneous Copies of Verses Drawn by Ingenious Hands (Boston [?], 1714), pp. 10, 11, and possibly indicate an otherwise unnoted copy of Milton, though Adams seems to assume that they were written by Cotton Mather. (See "Milton's Impress," op. cit., p. 163.) Samuel Johnson, who had read Milton when the earliest volumes were sent over to Yale, was constantly re-reading Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained in different places and may have owned a copy. (See Samuel Johnson, President of King's College: His Career and Writings, ed. Herbert Schneider and Carol Schneider [New York, 1929], I, 7, 497, 504, 512, 514, 518.) He did not continue his early practice of checking, in the list of books read, the volumes which he himself owned.

4 This was the first copy of Paradise Lost in Virginia, "as far as the records examined

show." (Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., XVII [1909], 147, 150.)

5 See Stanard, Colonial Virginia, pp. 301-7, for summary; see also the catalogue of Wil-

liam Byrd's library, in his Writings, pp. 422, 424, 425.

⁶ C. A. Herrick, "The Early New-Englanders: What Did They Read?", The Library, 3d Ser., IX (1918), 1–17, gives an interesting discussion of the dearth of modern knowledge concerning colonial books. A study of the articles and notes, dealing with books in colonial Virginia, listed in Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., VII (1899–1900), 303, X (1902–3), 389–90, will show that the point which Herrick makes concerning New England could also be made for Virginia.

of Milton indicate perhaps a better acquaintance with him than with any other literary figure of the English Renaissance except Francis Bacon. On the other hand, catalogues of a considerable number of private libraries are in existence, and of these only Increase Mather's and Godfrey Pole's list works by Milton. The negative value of this evidence may be important for the South, where libraries were of a miscellaneous character; but it can be easily exaggerated in connection with New England. Many people there, as Cotton Mather observed, considered poetry a "meer Playing and Fiddling upon Words"; certainly poetry in the vernacular was not considered a branch of learning, and it is not surprising that the strictly learned libraries with which we are familiar should fail to contain Milton's poems, whatever might be expected concerning the pamphlets.2 The book-lists which show no signs of the extraordinary vogue of The Day of Doom and the English Faust-book cannot be accepted as trustworthy guides to the popularity of Milton; for, however superior in quality his poetry might be, it was placed in the same class of nonutilitarian literature. Consequently, in spite of the scantiness of existing records, it would seem that Milton was fairly well known in New England during the half century following his death, although he probably had a less important place in the literary culture of the South.

With the development of a journalism in America which reflected the popular interest in literature, there began to appear in print evidences of a knowledge of Milton sufficiently widespread to make the tracing of individual copies of his work a matter of comparatively

It should perhaps be emphasized that the Puritans showed no signs of looking upon *Paradise Lost* as a theological treatise; and it would have been surprising if a group which, on the whole, condemned a belief in "Freedom of the Will" had done so. Mather's avoidance of Milton in giving advice to young ministers concerning poetry is significant. Also, it might be remembered that, exactly one hundred years after the publication of the *Manuductio*, William E. Channing found it necessary to protest against "those who are accustomed to speak of poetry as light reading" and who give Milton only "a high rank among the contributors to public amusement."

² That Milton's controversial work was better known than records indicate is suggested by the fact that, when news of Toland's *Amyntor* reached Massachusetts, the president of Harvard asked Samuel Sewall to order a copy. (Sewall's Diary, Apr. 29, 1700 [Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society, 5th Ser., VI (Sewall Papers, II), 13].) Sewall actually ordered two copies, the second either for himself or for sale. (Ibid., 6th Ser., I [Sewall's Letter-Book, I], 239.)

little importance. There is, however, some interest in the records which reveal the general availability of his writings - records which tend to show that the work of Milton had an accepted place in the literary consciousness of the colonies. Of this type are the catalogues of the semipublic libraries, one of the earliest of which was the library of the New-England Courant, which possessed a copy of "Milton" in 1722. The first catalogue of the Library Company of Philadelphia included, in 1741, not only a "Complete Collection of the Works of Mr. John Milton" but also a 1730 edition of Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained, and Samson Agonistes.2 The Juliana Library Company in Lancaster, Pennsylvania, listed in its 1766 catalogue Paradise Lost, Paradise Regained with Samson Agonistes and the minor poems, and the Tractate of Education.3 The New York Society Library (separate from the "ancient library" of the corporation) possessed in 1773 Newton's three-volume edition of Paradise Lost and the other poems, and a two-volume edition of the Prose Works.4 The Yale library was preserving its Milton items, considering Paradise Lost and Paradise Regained among the "most valuable" books in its possession. And at Harvard the Milton collection, principally through the zeal of the younger Thomas Hollis, was growing. The additions made to it during this period consisted of several volumes of prose, some early editions of Paradise Lost, Italian, French, and Latin translations of the epic, and two copies of Bishop Pearce's review of the text of Paradise Lost. Some of the collection was destroyed in the fire of 1764,6 but the most important volumes were replaced, for the 1773 catalogue listed "Milton (John) All his works."

Of greater importance than the copies contained in libraries, how-

² See partial catalogue in the issue of July 2, 1722.

² Cook, Literary Influences in Colonial Newspapers, p. 104.

3 Juliana . . . Catalogue (Philadelphia, 1766), p. 52.

4 New York Society Library Catalogue (New York, 1773), pp. 26, 32.

5 Matthews, in The Nation, LXXXVII, 625.

⁶ For an account of Hollis's contributions of Milton to the Harvard library, see the letter from W. C. Lane to C. F. Adams, in *Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc.*, XLII, 167. Cf. *Harvard Library Notes*, No. 15, pp. 49-50 (Sept., 1925), and *Memoirs of Thomas Hollis*, . . . (London, 1780), pp. 73, 444. For further information concerning the spread of Milton in America through Hollis, see his *Memoirs* (using the Index, under "Mayhew" and "Eliot"). Cf. Coll. Mass. *Hist. Soc.*, 4th Ser., IV, 412. The Harvard fire destroyed at least one copy of *Paradise Lost* belonging to an undergraduate. (*Pubs. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XIV, 36.)

ever, are those advertised for sale in the newspapers of the half century immediately preceding the Revolution. For example, an advertisement of Paradise Lost in the Pennsylvania Gazette for May 25, 1738, shows that Benjamin Franklin was doing a business in Milton's poems in his Philadelphia bookshop. Paradise Lost, with Addison's notes, was advertised in the South-Carolina Gazette in 1744.2 A Williamsburg bookshop announced copies of Milton's works for sale in Virginia in 1751; 3 and, in 1760, Phillip Freeman was advertising Milton in Massachusetts through the columns of the Boston Gazette and Country Fournal.4 That booksellers were thus putting forward goods for which there was a definite American demand is shown by the appearance of duplicate copies in private libraries, by an occasional book order to England, and by the several Americans included among the subscribers to Baskerville's finely printed edition of the Poetical Works in 1758.5 The number of copies sold through American shops, of course, cannot even be guessed, but occasional announcements, in colonial newspapers, of lost volumes of Milton's works bear witness to the poet's popularity among the common people.6

¹ Cook, op. cit., p. 113.

² Ibid., p. 255.

³ Virginia Gazette, May 24, 1751, and two issues following. This advertisement listed "Milton's Paradise Lost in Prose" and "Rolli's Milton." The former is The State of Innocence and the Fall of Man, translated from a French version of Paradise Lost (London, 1745); and the latter is probably Rolli's Italian translation of the epic, with a life of the author—hardly his opera based on Comus. One wonders whether these were dumped on the colony or whether there was actually a demand for them.

4 Michael Kraus, Intercolonial Aspects of American Culture on the Eve of the Revolution

(New York, 1928), pp. 197-98.

See Va. Mag. of Hist. and Biog., XVII, 407, 409, 410, for Milton items in the library of Daniel Parke Custis, which contained several duplicates; for another example, see the catalogue of the library of Robert Carter, in William and Mary Quarterly, X, 234, XI, 21, 27. Examples of the few book orders on record may be found in Collections of the New Jersey Historical Society, IV, 47 (Milton's "Works" for Lewis Morris), and in Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., LXI, 239 (Areopagitica for Henry Knox). Benjamin Franklin, Isaac Norris, and Abraham Taylor, of Philadelphia, and Jacob Townshend, of Virginia, were among the subscribers to Baskerville's edition. Norris's subscription was placed by Franklin. (See letter in the latter's Writings, ed. A. H. Smyth [New York, 1905-7], III, 454.) Some copies of Baskerville's unsubscribed reprint of 1759 crossed the Atlantic: Henry Pelham presented one to Sally Bromfield in 1775. (Pubs. Col. Soc. Mass., V, 199.)

6 Nathaniel Shower, a Boston shopkeeper, offered 40 shillings' reward for sundry books taken out of his dwelling house, mentioning *Paradise Lost* and *Paradise Regained* by title.

The most significant of the commercial records relating to Milton is not an advertisement, but an order placed in 1774 by Bulkeley Emerson with bookseller Henry Knox, of Boston, asking for "3 Paridice Lost" to be sent him for sale in his shop in Newburyport — an order which Knox seems to have had no difficulty in filling. Although a single instance, this speaks clearly of the stocks carried by city booksellers and of the demand for Milton in the smaller towns — however little documentary evidence exists. That this order may be considered in some degree indicative of the market for Milton's poems in the colonies on the eve of the Revolution is shown by the fact that, when trade with England became complicated by hostilities, a Philadelphia publisher deemed it profitable to print the first American edition of the poetical works in 1777.2

The records for this second period, like those for the first, are more suggestive than complete. But they do seem to reveal that copies of Milton, especially of his poems, became standard items in book collections available to the American public during the last fifty years of the colonial era. This indication is borne out by references to Milton in the periodical literature of the time. Of nine colonial newspapers which have been selected as representative, at least eight contain allusions to Milton which show that he was equally well known in New England, the Middle Colonies, and the South.³ Of the same number of colonial magazines (approximately half those published), only two fail to mention or quote Milton, and they were directed by men who elsewhere show an enthusiastic admiration for the English poet's

⁽New-England Weekly Journal, Mar. 17, 1741: Cf. Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., XLIII, 504.) Cook (op. cit., p. 257) speaks of advertisements, in the South-Carolina Gazette, for lost copies of Milton's works.

¹ Proc. Mass. Hist. Soc., LXI, 275.

² No. 15443 in Charles Evans, American Bibliography.

³ The New-England Courant, Jan. 1, Apr. 23, July 2, 1722, Dec. 9, 1723; The New-England Weekly Journal, Aug. 14, Oct. 9, 1727, and Feb. 5, 1733 (cf. Matthews, in The Nation, LXXXVII, 624; Cook, op. cit., p. 56); The New-York Gazette, Mar. 17, 1728; The New-York Weekly Journal, May 26, 1735, June 4, 1739; The Pennsylvania Gazette, Feb. 25, 1734 (see Cook, pp. 103-4); The Maryland Gazette, Aug. 2, 1734 (cf. Cook, p. 173; see also p. 178); The Virginia Gazette, Jan. 24, July 30, Aug. 7, 1752 (see, further, p. 177, n. 4, below). For The South-Carolina Gazette, see Cook, pp. 255, 257. This list does not pretend to be exhaustive; and the list of representative newspapers follows arbitrarily that given in Cook's table of contents.

work. The almanacs, especially those of Nathaniel Ames, also reflect an interest in Milton's poems.2 It is true that these allusions in the colonial periodicals are rather infrequent, but to some extent this was the result of a fashion in style and not of a lack of familiarity with the poems. The Matheresque, "Cloth of Gold" style, "stuck with as many Fewels, as the Gown of a Russian Embassador," 3 was not common in the periodicals, nor had it ever drawn particularly upon such a modern poet as Milton for its "touches of erudition." The easier journalistic style, with its more occasional and apt quotations, found the heroic couplets of the age more commonly apropos to the sentiments expressed than it did the words of Milton. The latter, however, could be and were quoted when the circumstances demanded. For example, the Virginia Gazette, under the editorship of William Parks (who as editor of the Maryland Gazette had shown his acquaintance with Paradise Lost), gave no sign of a knowledge of Milton in Virginia. But under his successor there developed, concerning a local volume of verse, a controversy in which Milton was quoted about a dozen times by the participants, who thus revealed how well the author of *Paradise* Lost and L'Allegro was known and respected by the southern amateur journalists.4

¹ Boston Weekly Magazine, Mar. 2, 1743 (cf. Lyon N. Richardson, A History of Early American Magazines [New York, 1931], p. 41); American Magazine and Historical Chronicle, I (1743-44), 112, 239-44, 258, 341; Independent Reflector, I (1753), 123, 135; The Instructor, May 1, 1755 (cf. Richardson, p. 97); American Magazine and Monthly Chronicle, I (1757-58), 286; Pennsylvania Magazine (see Richardson, p. 192); United States Magazine, I (1779), 27, 33, 82, 311-12. The two exceptions are Benjamin Franklin's General Magazine (the first two numbers of which I have seen) and the Livingston-inspired Occasional Reverberator. Franklin, of course, knew Milton well, and so did William Livingston, who quoted him in the Independent Reflector and devoted thirty-five lines of his Philosophic Solitude (New York, 1747) to the praise of "great Milton," placing him first among English poets. In giving this list of allusions to Milton in the magazines, I have avoided references to imitations of his verse, which are sufficiently numerous to justify a separate discussion.

² See *Pubs. Col. Soc. Mass.*, XII, facing p. 270, for a reproduction of the title-page of Nathan Bowen's 1735 almanac, with a seven-line quotation from *Paradise Lost.* For the almanacs of Ames, see Samuel Briggs (comp.), *The Essays, Humor, and Poems of Nathaniel Ames, Father and Son,...from Their Almanacks, 1726–1775,...* (Cleveland, 1891), for: 1744; Mar., 1746; May, 1747; June, July, 1758; Dec., 1759; Feb., 1765; Dec., 1769.

³ The quotations are from Cotton Mather's description of the style which he approved.

⁽Manuductio ad Ministerium, p. 44.)

4 Virginia Gazette, Apr. 30, May 22, June 18, July 3, and July 10, 1752.

The belief that Milton was well known during this period is strongly fortified by the almost exact correspondence between the number of allusions to him noticed and the amount of material investigated. Although the documents were selected solely because immediately available, no catalogues of semipublic libraries, no newspapers, and no magazines (with the exceptions noted above) examined for this study have failed to contain references to Milton's work - which means, of course, that the scantiness of the material used is more indicative of a lack of modern knowledge concerning colonial literary culture than of a lack of colonial acquaintance with Milton. To supplement what we really know concerning the general accessibility of his writings, it would be necessary to show how he impressed himself upon particular individuals: how the young John Adams "gazed at him in astonishment" in the "pretty library" of Dr. Nahum Willard and conceived the enthusiasm which he later shared with his wife, and eventually with a son who in turn was to pass the admiration on to Harvard undergraduates; how Thomas Jefferson documented his prejudices from Milton and studied the versification of *Paradise Lost*; how Benjamin Franklin drew upon him for his "articles of belief" and suggested the introduction of his work into colonial schools; how the colonial apologists drew upon him, and the Rev. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew preached the gospel of civil liberty according to John Milton from his Boston pulpit; and how, in Revolutionary times, knowledge of his work ranged from General Nathaniel Greene to Private Andros, who at the age of sixteen left a Connecticut plow for the American army. But the discussion and amplification of these allusions would require more space than the occasion justifies. The direct references to copies of Milton's works indicate a maturing interest in the poet, which is confirmed by the part his writings played in the printing-press activity during the early years of the Republic.

By that time references to Milton in periodicals and books of various kinds had become common. He was an established figure in the American literary consciousness. Only three editions of his writings had been published on this side of the Atlantic before 1787—the poetical works in 1777 and a selection of comments on church government, under the title of *An Old Looking-glass*, in 1770 and 1774 ¹—

¹ Nos. 11745 and 13442 in Evans, American Bibliography.

but then the dissemination of English printings of his work during the colonial period began to bear fruit, and one of the most flourishing "infant industries" of the new nation was the reprinting of Milton's poetry. In this activity the United States rivaled the mother country, for not less than twenty-eight editions of Milton's poems appeared between 1787 and 1815, or almost two-thirds as many as were printed in

England during the same years.

The steadiness of this demand for Milton represents the desire for the work of an author who had become classic. In spite of the limitations of our present knowledge concerning the part which particular books played in early American life, it seems safe to say that the records of copies of Milton's writings in America show that soon after his death he won recognition as a poet in New England, where he was already known as a prose writer, and received similar notice in the other colonies within the next generation; that his works, in the half century immediately preceding the Revolution, came to be standard items in the various collections of books available to the public; and that, from 1787 to 1815, he held a position on the American publishers' lists comparable to that which he maintained in England. Too little is known of literary culture during this period of American history to make any trustworthy generalization concerning Milton's relative place. But further investigation will possibly show that, in comparison with other English writers who were considered purely literary figures, Bacon (if he was considered such and not a philosopher) exceeded him in stature before the second quarter of the eighteenth century, and that Shakespeare did afterwards; that such later writers as Dryden, Addison, Pope, and Thomson rivaled and even surpassed him for a while in popularity, though not in estimated greatness; but that, on the whole, no writer kept a higher position consistently throughout the entire hundred and fifty years.

In obtaining items for this list of editions, I have used: Evans, American Bibliography; D. H. Stevens, Reference Guide to Milton: . . . (Chicago, 1930); Harris F. Fletcher, Contributions to a Milton Bibliography, 1800–1930, . . . (Urbana, Ill., 1931); Catalogue of the Library of the Boston Athenaeum (Boston, 1874–82); Catalogue of Books Belonging to the Library Company of Philadelphia (Philadelphia, 1836–57); the British Museum catalogue of printed books; and the card catalogue of the Huntington Library.



FROBISHER'S THIRD VOYAGE, 1578

The monetary details of Frobisher's voyages of exploration are better known than those of any other English oversea enterprise of the sixteenth century. A mass of documents relating to the Kathay Company, the official name of Frobisher's "venturers," has remained in the archives, and a large body of these papers was printed by Admiral Collinson. Mainly from these printed documents, Professor W. R. Scott was able to give a precise financial history of the company. This material, together with information from the later calendars of state papers, was also used by Dr. George B. Manhart in his recent

survey of the whole Frobisher enterprise.3

The main reason for the preservation of so many papers was the failure of the voyages. Had the ore which was brought back from Baffin Land proved valuable, the enterprise would more or less have paid its way, and the documents would sooner or later have been discarded. Since the ore was in fact valueless, and since the capital raised was inadequate, the investors were seriously annoyed, as were also the unpaid crews and the incompletely paid shipowners. The treasurer of the company became the natural target of reproach, and his defense involved the submitting and justifying of his accounts. The Queen was a large shareholder, and many of the Privy Council were also interested. The result was that the Privy Council was called in as umpire of the battle of words, and the papers submitted to them remained in the archives.

The full accounts of the treasurer have not been printed. They

² The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to

1720 (Cambridge), II (1910), 76-82.

The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher, ed. Richard Collinson ("Works Issued by the Hakluyt Society," XXXVIII [London, 1867]).

^{3 &}quot;The English Search for a Northwest Passage," pp. 31-92 (in Studies in English Commerce and Exploration in the Reign of Elizabeth [Philadelphia, 1924]).

fill two large volumes in the Public Record Office. In the first of these, pages 1 to 60 contain the summary accounts for the first voyage, 1576, as submitted to the auditors; pages 83 to 174 contain like accounts for the second voyage, 1577. Pages 175 to 305, and all the next volume, contain the accounts for the third voyage, which were

protracted down to 1583.

Despite their bulk, these last accounts are not complete. They begin: "Thaccountt of Michaell Lok treasorer of busynes done by him syns his laste accountes, we'h were geven vpe and awdited in August, 1578." The accounts of August, 1578, have long been separated from the Exchequer volumes, and are now in the Huntington Library. Since it is unlikely that Michael Lok's accounts will be published in full, some material from this interim account is here presented.

HM 715 consists of 53 leaves of paper, unbound, of which leaves 28 to 53 are blank. The pages used are numbered in pairs or openings; the third leaf recto carries the number 1, leaf 3 verso and leaf 4 recto are both numbered 2, and so on, by openings, to 27. References in the accounts themselves do not distinguish between the left-hand page

and the right-hand page of a given opening.

The title, on leaf 2 recto, is "Thaccountt gyven by Michael Lok of the third voiage of Martin furbusher / for the discourse of Cathaj &c. / by the Northwest partes /." This is in Lok's bold handwriting, as are, generally, the headings and totals, together with some interpolations. Three other hands were employed, the first one suggesting particularly the careful script of the bookkeeper. Still another hand, that of the auditor, has checked every item of expenditure with an "exr" (exoneratur), which shrinks to a dot in the long pay-roll account. The auditor has likewise checked the footings with "pror" (probatur), and has disallowed two items by marginal note. He has made no mark on the final summary, and has written no certificate of audit on the account-book itself.

¹ Miscellaneous Books (Exchequer King's Remembrancer) 35, 36. They are described in *Proceedings of H. M. Commissioners on Public Records*, 1832–1833, pp. 74-77, 558-62. A transcript of about 1821 is now Additional MS 39852 in the British Museum.

² Vol. 35, p. 177. ³ HM 715.

Ι

The first item of interest is the list of investors. The subscribers to the two earlier voyages are known. For the third, Dr. Manhart compiled a conjectural list, which may now be corrected and completed. Not included in Lok's list were those "Gentlemen and others" who, having served in the first two voyages, were to be given free shares in the third. Nor was the Earl of Oxford as yet a subscriber, and his later entry into the company was apparently by private arrangement with Lok.³

I give the list from Lok's first account,4 "The Receytt of Money by me Michael Lok mercer / Tresorer of the Companye", etc.5

the Queenes Ma ^{tie}	£1350.
the Lorde Highe Tresorer	135.
the Lorde highe Admirall	135.
the Lorde Chamberleyne Earle of Sussex	135.
the Earle of warwicke	135.
the Earle of Leycester	202. 10
the Lorde of hundesdon	67. 10
Sr Frauncys knowles tresorer &c'r	67. 10
Sr Frauncys walsingham secrytarye	270.
Mr doctor Willson secrytarye	67. 10
the Earle of pembroocke	202. 10
the Countesse of pembrooke	33. 15
the Countesse of warwicke	67. 10
the Countesse of Sussex	67. 10
Mr philipe sydney	67. 10
Sr henrye Wallope knight	67. 10
Sr thomas greshame knight	270.
Sr Leonel Dvckett knighte	67. 10
Sr John brockett knight	67. 10
Mr william pelhame	67. 10
Mr thomas Randoll	67. 10
M ^r Edwarde Dier	33. 15

¹ Pp. 161-63.

² State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, cxxiii, No. 50 (printed in *Three Voyages*, pp. 210-11).

³ Ibid., cxxix, No. 12 (printed ibid., p. 330).

⁴ I am indebted to Mr. H. C. Schulz, of the Department of Manuscripts, for essential help in transcribing these accounts.

⁵ HM 715, opening 1, right page. The lists are at opening 2, right page, and opening 3, left page.

1101(111(0101) 2122111111	
John Somers	£ 67. 10
Symon boyer	33. 15
John Dee	33. 15
Anthonye Jenkinesone	67. 10
Martine Furbusher Captaine	135.
Edmvnd hogaine mercer	135.
Richard younge Cvstomer	67. 10
thomas allyn skynner	67. 10
Mathewe Filde mercer	67. 10
Christofer hoddesdon mercer	67. 10
William painter	67. 10
Jefferye turville	67. 10
William burrowe	67. 10
Thomas Owine gent	33. 15
Richard Bowlande	67. 10
william Bonde haberdasher	135.
Robert Kindersley	67. 10
Anne Frauncys wydowe [Kindersley]	101. 5
Mathewe kindersleye	33. 15
william harington	33. 15
william Dowgle	33. 15
Anthonye marler mercer	33. 15
william Ormeshawe	33. 15
Zacharie Lok	33. 15
Eleazar Loke	33. 15
Gerson Lok	33. 15
Beniamen Lok	33. 15
Mathewe Lok	33. 15
henrye Lok	33. 15
Michael Loke Junior	33. 15
*Julio Cesar Adelmare	438.15 { 33. 15
Thomas Cesar Adelmare	33. 15
Charles Ceser Adelmare	33. 15
henrye Cesar Adelmar	33. 15
william Cesar Adelmare	33. 15
Elizabethe Cesar Adelmare	(33. 15
Dame Elizabeth Martine	33. 15
John Castelyn mercer	33. 15
Michael Lok mercer, and the remaynder	- (
of the second voyage being £1750	2632. 10

^{*} These were Lok's stepchildren.

Sum of all the Stok of the Venturars	£8370.
Wheroutt paid in the dyscharge of this Accountt	£8939. o. 7
And so rest dew to this Accountant vppon this Account ended the Last day of August 1578. Sum	£ 569. 0. 7

2

Three accounts (openings 8–14) record the cost of equipping the three ships and the hundred men who were to remain in the new land. The pay roll of the hundred colonists follows (openings 15–18). The remaining accounts are the pay roll of the fourth ship, the "Ayde" (openings 19–21), and its equipment bills (openings 22–24), and the summary of expenditures. This summary is as follows (opening 26, right):

Sum of all the paymenttes for the dyscharge of this Accountt, as foloth/

For the Ships & men to dwell there/ paid for the iij ships, Judethe, Gabriel, and			
Michael, & their furnyture	£1309.	5.	9
For Implementtes of the mynes, and for	0)		
the howssynge, & howse, to dwell there	743-	13.	5
for vyttelles of the said 3 ships, & C men	1478.		
for wagys of C men [that is, advances on wages],	818.	6.	4
C ~ . 1 . 11 .1	C	- 0	0
Sum to dwell there	£4349.	18.	ð
For the Shyps & men, to retorne/			
paid for the ship Ayde, and her whole			
Furnyture	£1486.	7-	5
For vyttelles of 170 men	1053.	2.	8
for wages of them	1124.	8.	10
for marchandyse	150.	0.	0
for Fraightt of Shyps [that is, advance payments]	200.	0.	0

Sum to retorne	£4013. £4349.		
Sum all payd in this voyage outwardes	£8363.	17.	7
paid more for dyvers Sums charged in the Receye for the venturars weh haue nott yett paid,	£ 575.	3.	0
Sum of all the dyscharge of this Account atmh	£8939.	0.	7

It will be seen that the expenditures kept well within the tentative original budget. This had, to be sure, provided for a larger party; but, roughly reduced to actual dimensions, it forecast an expenditure, in advance of sailing, of £10,166 13s. 4d., as compared with Lok's actual payments of £8,363 17s. 7d. The latter figure tallied neatly with the capital subscribed, which Lok gave, above, as £8,370. Doubtless the treasurer's own pocket was drawn on to produce this happy result.

One will observe, further, the weak point in the scheme — the collection of only enough money to get the ships off. Again referring to the budget, one finds that the treasurer should have been prepared to pay, on the return of the ships, no less than £10,470—£4,670 for wages, and £5,800 for the freight of the 1200 tons of ore (actually 1350 tons were brought back). He had paid perhaps one-third of the wages in advance (for two months to those who were to "return," up to six months to those who were to remain overseas), and only £200 toward the "freightage" (at the rate of £5 per ton of ore carried) of the auxiliary ships. It is therefore amazing that no move was made toward a capital assessment until the ships returned.

Even if the ore had been valuable, its disposal would have taken time. Meantime the crews remained on the pay roll, the freighted ships were still on hire. When the assessment was made, it was for £6,000, and was imposed on the pretext that the ships had brought back twice as much ore as had been expected. This assessment pro-

¹ State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, cxxiv, No. 1 (printed in *Three Voyages*, pp. 209-10). ² *Ibid.*, cxxvi, No. 20 (printed *ibid.*, pp. 319-20).

vided only for the freight. Since, however, it called for a levy of about 85 per cent, we should not be surprised that it was not mentioned until the ships came home.

3

The names of the hundred who were to be left in Meta Incognita (Baffin Land) for a year have not hitherto been known. Hakluyt printed the list of the hundred (actually 108) first English colonists in America, those of Ralegh's Virginia in 1585.² The list of the first intending colonists may therefore be of interest (openings 15, right, to 18, right). I add the wage rates (per month), which depart from the rather limited scale set down in a preliminary memorandum.³

Gentelmen and Souldiers./

mr Edward fenton Capi-		m̃ brooke gent	£1.	
taine	£10.	Nycholas conger soldier	I.	6. 8
Rychard phillpott Ansent	5.	Anthonie hews soldier	I.	6. 8
george beast lyfetenant *	5.	John Johnson soldier	I.	6. 8
John Lee livetenant	2.	Rychard chamberes solder	I.	6. 8
Edward Harvie livetenant	2.	william ormeshawe soldier	I.	6. 8
peter vincent gent	I.	w ^m lydiet soldier	I.	
william staunton gent	I.	James vtey soldier	I.	6. 8
Lyonell skypwith	I.	Rychard greene solder	I.	
m ^r woolfall preacher	2. 10.	George Roper soldier	ı.	6. 8
harry kirkman Ansent	1. 13. 4	John Stanley soldier	I.	6. 8
Jamees settell gent	1. 6. 8			
Cipio Essex gent	I.			
John Hartgill gent	1.			

Artificeres Mineres and laborers./

Roger Dardes Labourer	£ 1.		Thomas Jennynges fownder	I.
nicholas Larrance Laborer	I.		John page myner	I.
Edmond horsey Laborer	I.		titus Landam laborer	I.
Ryc. Tailor myner	I.	6. 8	Godfrey Johnson Shumaker	Ι.
Edward smithton laborer	I.		william tailor shumaker	I.

^{*} Best was the historian of the three voyages.

The individual assessments are given in State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, cxxx, No. 16 (printed in *Three Voyages*, pp. 348-49), and in Exchequer, Vol. 35, pp. 175-79.

² The English Voyages (Glasgow ed., 1903-5), VIII, 317-18.
³ State Papers, Domestic, Elizabeth, cxxiii, No. 51 (printed in Three Voyages, p. 211).

w ^m Joyner myner Robert hind Surgian * John paradice Surgean of the Judith Lyonell cracknell laborer John heywodd cooke and myner John price Baker davy Evans Baker nicholas chauncellor purser † Robert Tedder smith	£1. 2. 5. 2. 10. 1. 1. 3. 4 1. 10. 1. 10. 2. 1. 10.	william Sea Cole John hodgys smith w ^m Seely stuares Rychard Salt myner Christopher flowey fishmon gar Sebastian Symondes cooper John loe Cooper George Stawker howse car- pinter Rychard cooke Taylor	1. 5. 1. 10. 1. 6. 8
Mariners of the Judith. charles Jackman mr wm ward mrs mate Robert Trybe sayler George Larman sayler Guy whit sailer Rychard burnit gunner Raphe larkin sayler John gamaige fisher & sailer Richard harberd Robert Awle sayler peter Robinson sayler	6. 13. 4 2. 3. 4 1. 10. 1. 3. 4 2. 2. 1. 10. 1. 13. 4 1. 6. 8 1. 6. 8	Robert hayson gvnner George Lydger shipwright Steven nancarne sayler Adam holt Shipwright John wilson Sailor Rychard fishburne sayler charles Jackmans man sailer thomas graves sailer John lowring sailer martin williams	I. 2. I. IO. I. IO. I.
Mariners of the Michae Bartholomew bull m ^r william Bennes m ^{rs} mate Giles syllebin botswaine John lawson saylor Thomas stubble sayler John norton Boye Maryners of the Gabrie Thomas price m ^r John Lunt maisteres mate manus gryffin John Incent	4. IO. I. I6. 8 I. I3. 4 I. 6. 8 I. 6. 8 I. 6. 8	william laborne sayler dominick leonard Thomas Anderson Cooke harry Sprage shippewright Edward mathew sayler Thomas phillippes Tege hewse sayler Rychard Cowley James Jacklin sayler	I. 6. 8 I. 3. 4 I. 13. 4 I. 4.

^{*} Marginal note: "of yo michael". † He was also given "further Allowance for his great charge".

These maryners & others were discharged, and went not on the third voyage being found vnfitt for service

Arthur warcoppe			
A 1 1 1 1 1 - C 1	25.		
John white sayler he dyed at blackwall the	7		
3 maye 1578: hiered the j Aprill	Ι.	8.	
hary hethersaye Boye of Androw dier		Io.	
thomas wyares boteswaine	I.	6.	8
John Browen being hurt in the service, &			
not able to procede on ye viage	ī.	6.	8
Robert hopkins gvnnesmith, discharged in maye			
John smith mr of the michaell, dischardgyd in April	l		

Theise men were appointed for service in this third voyage, And Ranne awaye

william Coomes Sailer gynner	ī.	13.	4
Symon Dee howsecarpinter			ľ

4

The above lists may be supplemented (openings 19, right, to 21, right) with the names of the personnel of the "Ayde," which was to return in the autumn, leaving the three smaller vessels behind.

Capitaines, Gentelmen, And Soldiers, and others, weh do Retorne wth the Shippes

martyn frobusher Capitaine generall [paid £1 a day in port from the preceding September]

Gilbert yorke Capitaine
Edward Selman mrchaunt *
mathew kindersley gent
Gregory Bona goldfiner
Thomas thorneton purser
A preacher to go wth m frobusher

Maryners, offyceres and others for service in the Ayde./

Christopher hall m^r Hughe Jones sailer gvnner Roger Owen sayler John Cotton sayler £6. 13. 4

Thomas Jenkins pvmpemaker James Jacklin sayler Harry Baterby sailer John wilmot sailer

[at £5 per month]

^{*} Selman wrote for Lok an account of the voyage, which is published in Three Voyages, pp. 290-316.

Thomas price sailer	£		1. 5.
frauncys Austen	1. 6. 8		1. 10.
Esdras Draper sayler	1. 6.8		1. 2.
John Ardington boy	IO.	Owen Corbet sayler	1. 8.
Robert Denham goldsmith	3.	william dod sayler	
John Lambell	1. 6. 8	william English sayler	
John pecocke	I.	Jamees Barret sayler	
william humfrey goldfyner	2. 10.	tege Lewis sayler	
w ^m payne carpinter	1. 13. 4	John hall Boye	
nycolas warrin Carpinter	1. 6. 8	Samvell bere gvnner & sayler	
george badcock carpinter	1. 6. 8	3	
goode control			
John williams mrs mate			r.
Anthonie Sane sailer		Harry bendall sayler	1. 4.
James Treviller sayler		Henry Afferton sayler	13. 4
walter Streate Sailer		w ^m manneryng sayler	I. I4.
pawll Jonas Sailer		Christopher Jackson trympeter	
Edward Robinson	1. 13. 4	Anthonie fisher Trympetter	
Thomas Aliryd * Sayler	I. IO.	Thomas dragford sailer	
Rychard watson sailer	i. 6.8	John denyse sayler	
Thomas thorte sailer	1. 8.	walter homes sailer	
william bowgle sailer	2.	John Sampson sailer	
Thomas Cvnnyngham sayler	r. 8.	harry davies sayler	
John Commynges purser		thomas Erelease sailer	
w ^m davies Sayler	ı. 6.8	harry mychaell sailer	
John harwood Surgiean	1. 16.	Steven Boys Sailer	
w ^m Bowrey carpinter	1. 10.	Androwe Lydger sailer	
w ^m Saunderes sayler	I. 4.	Roger Bogar sayler	
Robert wilnater sayler	ı. 6.8	John Taylor sayler	
John Ellys Sayler		John hilpe Sayler Boye	
John Cornishe sayler		Edward pavie Sailo Boye	
water kelley Carpinter	1. 5.	John frie Sailer	
Anthonie Sparrow sayler	,	John hitchcocke Sailer	
James walter sayler		John Thorne Boye	
Rychard whetleye sailer	1. 6.`8		

^{*} An apparently meaningless stroke cuts the "1" and "i."

GEORGE B. PARKS

BATTLE ABBEY ACCOUNTS

IN THE Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research for November, 1934, Miss Eleanor Swift has an article headed "Obedientiary and Other Accounts of Battle Abbey in the Huntington Library." While at the Library, Miss Swift sorted and rearranged these manuscripts, which previous to their purchase by the Library had been mounted and bound in volumes in loose chronological order. The obedientiary rolls found here represent a type of Battle Abbey material that has survived in England only in two abbots' and three household accounts at the Public Record Office. Those listed by Miss Swift are accounts of the officers of the Abbey, including 7 Abbey accounts, 71 almoners', 102 beadles', 44 cellarers', 2 chaplains', 40 sacristans', 8 seneschals', and 23 treasurers', dating from 1275 to 1531. There are also listed accounts of officials in charge of some of the manors belonging to the abbey, including Barnhorne (96), Icklesham (33), Marley Farm (13), Marsh of Pevensey (2), and Wye (21). Though the list does not show the contents of the accounts, a statement is attached to each item, indicating whether or not the accountant was left at the end of the financial year with cash in hand.

M. T.

CHAMPION LETTERS

MR. G. H. Guttridge, of the University of California, has edited, with an Introduction, *The American Correspondence of a Bristol Merchant, 1766–1776: Letters of Richard Champion* ("University of California Publications in History," XXII, 1–72; Berkeley, 1934). These letters, not hitherto published, include a series of which the originals are in the Huntington Library. This series, printed in full, was written between 1774 and 1776 to Messrs. Willing and Morris, of Philadelphia, the leading mercantile house in America, and has both commercial and political interest.

¹ Vol. XII, No. 35, pp. 83-101.

GABRIEL HARVEY'S FOURE LETTERS

Among the books and pamphlets issued during the course of the Harvey-Nashe quarrel, one of the most important was Gabriel Harvey's Foure Letters, and certaine Sonnets, printed by John Wolfe in 1592. The existence of two distinct editions of this work, both dated 1592, had been suspected long before this fact was definitely recorded in the Short-Title Catalogue. The Bridgewater-Huntington copy appears to be the only extant exemplar of the earlier of these editions. This copy is for the first time fully described by Francis R. Johnson, Huntington Library International Research Fellow, 1933–34, in the Library for September, 1934 (XV, 212 ff.). Mr. Johnson shows how the bibliographical peculiarities of this edition make it possible to clear up a number of doubtful points in connection with the Harvey-Nashe controversy, particularly with regard to the composition and date of issue of the Foure Letters and of Nashe's reply, Strange Newes.

SPECIAL EXHIBITIONS, 1932–34

SINCE the autumn of 1932, there have been three special exhibitions at the Huntington Library, without taking into account numerous small displays of short duration. Each of these special exhibitions was designed to interest teachers and students, as well as the general

public.

Under the title "Tudor Drama," some of the Library's rare books and manuscripts in that field were shown, from September, 1932, to August, 1933. Among the manuscripts exhibited were: the oldest of the five surviving copies of the Chester plays; the only extant manuscripts of the Wakefield cycle (probably made about 1460) and of Misogonous* (ca. 1560-77); John Bale's King Johan (ca. 1540); and Thomas Legge's Richardus Tertius (1579). The printed items included copies of Medwall's Fulgens and Lucres (ca. 1516-33), Everyman (ca. 1521-37), John Heywood's The Pardoner and the Friar (1533), and Gammer Gurton's Needle (1575). There were cases devoted to The Tudor Stage, Tragedy, History Plays, The University

^{*} The practice followed in the special exhibitions' hand lists of conventionalizing titles is for convenience followed here.

Wits, and The Popular Theater. Works of Marlowe and Kyd were selected to exemplify the Elizabethan play of action. Shakespeare was represented by two copies of the first folio and by quarto editions of Love's Labor's Lost (1598), Henry IV (1599), The Merchant of Venice (1600), and Hamlet (1603). The last of the eighteen cases contained four plays of Ben Jonson. Contemporary illustrations of early dramatic performances, players, settings, and theaters were displayed in several cases. Fifteenth-century block books and Books of Hours served to show medieval conceptions — for example, a hell mouth. Sixteenth-century editions of Plautus and Terence, and Serlio's Architecture (1611), gave an idea of conventional stage settings of that period; Alabaster's Roxana (1632) and another volume depicted academic stages; and a panoramic view of the Thames, as it was about 1610, gave an impression of the situation of the four theaters then on the Bankside.

In response to many requests for a display of examples of its rare Californiana, the Library held an exhibition entitled "California from Legendary Island to Statehood" (November, 1933, to August, 1934). The exhibits ranged over a period of three centuries, and were classified under fourteen headings: Legends and Early Records, Lower California, Colonization of Upper California, The Missions, The Mexican Period, Early American Visitors, Early Immigration, The Bear Flag Revolt, American Occupation, The New State, Discovery of Gold, The News Spreads, The Great Migration, and Life at the Mines. In addition, one case was devoted to San Francisco and another to Los Angeles. Among the noteworthy exhibits were: a letter of Father Kino, describing Lower California in 1683; a manuscript report of the conference of 1768, at San Blas, Mexico, that decided to send expeditions to Upper California; a unique copy of a children's elementary arithmetic (1836) from the press, at Monterey, of Augustin Zamorano, the earliest identified printer in California; and the only known copy of the so-called Mason Laws of 1848. For the American period, manuscript diaries, letters, and printed accounts by explorers, overland emigrants, and gold miners were shown, together with contemporary sketches, colored drawings, engravings, and broadsides.

"The English Novel: An Exhibition of Manuscripts and First Editions, Chaucer to Conrad," opened in October, 1934, and still

continuing, is the first in a contemplated series of exhibits of strictly literary material. The aim was to trace the development of the novel in England, from its beginnings in such early manifestations as Chaucer's Troylus and Cresyde, Malory's Morte d'Arthur, and Sidney's Arcadia, to the works of modern writers such as Hardy, Conrad, and Galsworthy. The basis of selection was the author's contribution to the evolution of the novel, rather than the fame of a particular story, although there were departures from this rule, as for example The Vicar of Wakefield and Lorna Doone (of which the author's manuscript is shown). With few exceptions, the sixty-eight items are by English writers. The Elizabethan period is represented by Euphues (1585), Arcadia (1590, and a manuscript of earlier date), Rosalynde (1596), and The Unfortunate Traveller (1594); and the seventeenth century, by works of Bishop Hall, Roger Boyle, Bunyan, Mrs. Behn, and Congreve. One case is devoted to Richardson's novels, Pamela and Clarissa, and Fielding's Joseph Andrews and Tom Jones. Later novels are arranged in groups according to type: The Revival of Romance, The Novel of Purpose, The Novel of Social Life, The Historical Romance, The Humanitarian Novel, The Psychological and Ethical Novel, etc. A number of manuscripts are shown, including works of William Godwin, Reade (The Cloister and the Hearth), Ainsworth, Collins, Trollope (The Small House at Allington), and Borrow. One case contains manuscripts of Stevenson, Gissing, Moore, Conrad, and Galsworthy. The last case exhibits a few American writings. No works by living authors are included in the exhibition.

For each exhibit an illustrated hand list was published, at the nominal price of ten cents. Brief introductions were prepared for these hand lists: for the Tudor Drama, by Professor Louis B. Wright; for the Californiana, by Professor John C. Parish; and for the English

Novel, by Professor Hoyt H. Hudson.

The interest aroused by these special exhibitions led the California Library Association to invite Mr. R. O. Schad, in charge of exhibitions at the Huntington Library, to read a paper at a meeting on May 4, 1934. This discussion of the Library's aims and methods in the preparation of its special exhibitions was printed in the *Library Journal* of September 1.

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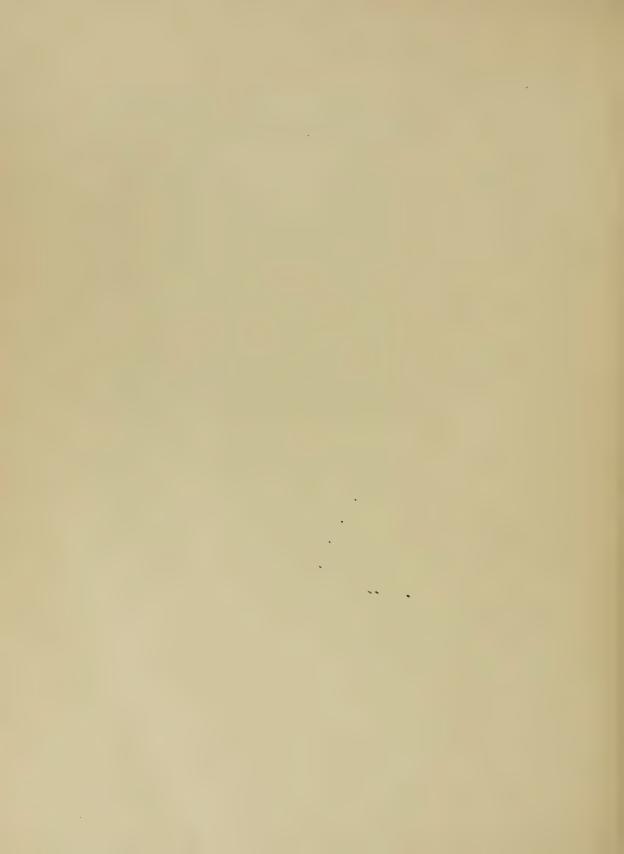
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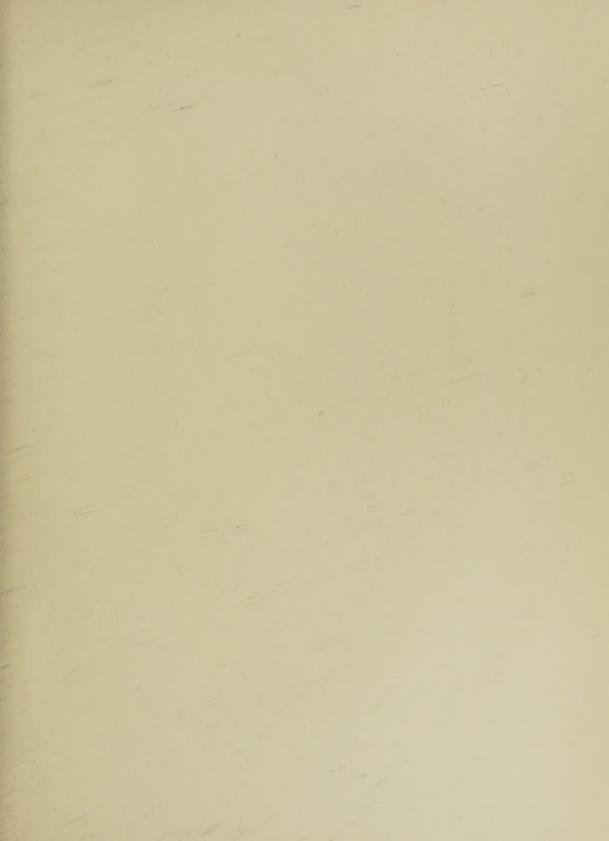
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